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**'It's rising and rising; I don't think there is anything to stop the water coming'**

**Suzanne Goldenberg in Dhaka on the flood threat to Bangladesh's capital**

**S**EVERN million people in Dhaka were threatened with losing their homes last night as stinking floodwater started to breach the last defences of the Bangladesh capital.

The army was yesterday put in charge of late and desperate attempts to contain a disaster that has already submerged nearly half the country.

Several sections of the clay embankment that curves for 20 miles around Dhaka have fallen below the floodline, and all roads out of the city were washed out earlier this week.

Unlike other sections of the embankment, Chashara is unprotected by a retaining wall, and the clay is crumbling beneath the weight of thousands of workers — and of those who turn up to gawk at the spectacle.

The men, their shoulders bowed by sandbags, scurried along the disused railway line that runs along the top of the embankment, with bare feet slipping in the oozing mud and ragged clothing soaked by the rain. Yesterday they laid down 10,000 fresh sandbags on a stretch measuring just 600ft.

Among them were middle-class Bangladeshis unaccustomed to such labour. "Look," said A. S. Massoud, a commerce student, pointing with his cellphone at his home across from the embankment. "I stay here with my parents. If the barrier breaks we will be under 10 feet of water, so every day I

have to come here and help." But amid the goodwill, there was chaos. When the men spotted water pouring from a gap in the embankment into a shanty town below, they simply moved the sandbags from another spot.

"It was dripping before and we didn't bother much, but it started flowing fast in the night," said Ishaque Ali, a rickshaw man whose thatched hut stands about a foot from the pool formed by the leak. "Now I am scared."

The call to the armed forces is an admission of defeat for the prime minister, Sheikh Hasina Wazed, who has insisted that the civilian administration could cope with a calamity that, until this month, was moving at a deceptively slow speed. She waited until August 26 to appeal for international assistance, exposing the government to charges of being slow to act amid the worst floods in a century.

Officers of the army engineering battalions have been patrolling the flood wall for days, but the government had left the monumental task of raising the embankment by some 6ft to private contractors, employing day labourers.

Yesterday, Abdul Razzak, the water resources minister, admitted that the workers, and hundreds of volunteers, were no match for the waters that overnight tore off huge chunks of the embankment at Chashara, endangering some 500,000 people who live in its shadow.



Bangladeshi children and a dog take refuge on roofs in a flooded Dhaka suburb yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: RAFOUR RAHMAN

"They have been here for the last 44 days. They are exhausted. The army is strong and stout and well-organised, and they have faced such situations earlier," he said.

Government engineers say they believe the embankment will hold during the worst hours of the flood, expected to last until late tonight. Within the past two days, the mighty rivers north of the city have begun their retreat, and weather forecasters hope the waning of the full moon will lower the ocean tides that

have stopped the flood waters from receding. "We expect so, but all our expectations have proved false so far," said Shamsur Islam, an official at Dhaka's disaster centre.

A mile down the road from Chashara, people were taking no chances. Squatting over wood planks and burning pitch, Mohammed Idris Mullah and dozens of others were putting their faith in crude boats, which were selling for some 2,000 takas (£30).

"It's rising and rising, and I

don't think there is anything to stop the water coming here," he said. "When the flood is over, I can use it as firewood."

Nearby, an army captain was directing troops to fill in the gaps in a retaining wall with sandbags and save the road below. "At present the water level is over the embankment," he said. "The wall cannot resist such leakage."

In Dhaka's east end, it is too late for such defences. A turning near the middle-class

Khilgaon neighbourhood has been transformed into a makeshift jetty, where people mob the precarious wooden boats that are the only means of reaching their homes.

The waters reek of raw sewage and have climbed to within inches of the slabs of raw meat hanging in the market. Several of the boats come close to capsizing in the rush to get aboard.

A schoolteacher, Abdul Rahim, said: "If the barricades are broken, the whole city will be like this."

## Trouble ahead on pay, says TUC chief

Seamus Milne and David Brindle

**T**ONY Blair is walking into a "Greek tragedy" by holding down public sector pay, with the risk of "big trouble" and widespread disruption in public services if the crisis is not tackled, the TUC president, John Edmonds, said in the run-up to next week's TUC conference.

His warning of potential large-scale industrial action by public sector workers came as doctors yesterday demanded a 10 per cent pay rise, as their initial share of the Government's planned £21 billion boost for the health service.

Making the opening bid in the annual public sector pay round, the British Medical Association said the Government could easily afford its claim, with more than 11 per cent extra on next year's NHS budget — fuelling ministerial fears that the health and education cash injections have raised public service workers' pay expectations.

Those concerns will be heightened by Mr Edmonds's remarks, made in an interview in today's New Statesman. Speaking as a string of senior Labour figures, including the Prime Minister, prepare to travel to Blackpool to talk to trade unionists at their annual gathering next week, the TUC president and GMB general union leader said: "It really does look as if we are heading towards big trouble and it's going to be very disruptive for everybody."

Public service workers were "not looking for a fight", but they were being "pushed into a corner" by the continuation of Conservative pay policies, which have opened up a 16 per cent earnings gap between private and public sectors since the early 1980s.

"Industrial action doesn't arise from one year's grievance," he said. "It arises from a rising sense of grievance and frustration, a feeling that we can't do anything else about this except industrial action."

The challenge posed by the doctors' 10 per cent pay claim — intended as the first step towards the goal of a 50 per cent rise to match other professions — was compounded yesterday when the BMA rejected Mr Blair's assertion this week that its pay review body's remit has been amended to take account of affordability and productivity.

Mr Blair must have been "mistaken", since any such changes had to be agreed by all parties. Dr Bogle accused ministers of "blackmailing" health service employees "by telling us that if we get a significant pay award then patient care will suffer".

Mr Edmonds said that public service recruitment problems caused by the long-running pay squeeze were now so severe that they would only be resolved by recession. That was "destructive of the Government policy of delivering quality services".

The Chancellor, Gordon Brown, had been expected to be given a rough ride by TUC delegates in Blackpool next week, but he is now due to travel to Japan as chairman of the Group of Seven for a crisis meeting instead.

Mr Edmonds singled Mr Brown out for criticism while unexpectedly praising Mr Blair and Peter Mandelson, the Trade and Industry Secretary. "Every time he has met us," Mr Edmonds said of the Chancellor, "we have suffered from an extended spinning period in advance when they would have been told that what we were going to say to him was rubbish."

## Hare makes first-person reportage into work of art

### Review

Michael Billington

Via Deleware  
Royal Court Downstairs

**I**NSIDE David Hare the playwright there has always been a journalist struggling to get out. But the two merge perfectly in this one-man play, which is both a brilliant piece of reportage about Hare's journey to the Middle East and a cunningly shaped work of art. For good measure, Hare also proves to be a performer of surprising élan.

He starts a little tentatively. Emerging from a door in the back wall of the stripped stage, clad in crisp white shirt and dark flannels, he crosses a narrow bridge like a man about to enter a bear-pit. At first, he even seems to be reading off some imaginary autocue. But gradually his confidence builds, his timing grows, and by the end the most

sardonic observer has been informed by the passion that he encounters in his Middle Eastern journey.

This is the real secret of the evening: it is a voyage of discovery in which Hare, coming from a society where faith is a form of social embarrassment, finds dogma, division and despair.

Visiting Israel and Palestine, he doesn't sit in judgement, even if the play is pervaded by the plight of the Palestinian refugees. But the question Hare implicitly asks is how much the western visitor can ever fully understand of a world in which belief is a matter of life and death.

The big issues, however, grow out of scrupulous observation. In Tel Aviv Hare meets a secular liberal like the theatre director, Eran Daniel, who regards the post-1967 preoccupation with land as profoundly "un-Jewish". But, crossing into the occupied territories, Hare stays with a Jewish family who regard the Oslo peace accord as a betrayal, see Rabin as a traitor,

and engage in hair-splitting arguments over Old Testament texts.

In Gaza and Ramallah, Hare encounters a similar mixture of fire and fission. A poet attacks the western media's demonisation of the Arabs. But a popular politician is equally scathing about the corruption of Arafat's regime.

This is not, nor does it pretend to be, the whole truth about the Middle East. But it shows Hare's intelligence and irony encountering the volatile passions of Israeli-Palestinian faith and politics. And it reinforces one's faith in theatre as a means of communication.

Hare, astutely directed by Stephen Daldry, records his subjective impressions, delineates character, fleshes out the issues and shows he has been changed by his Middle Eastern experience.

You go expecting to hear a talk. What you get is a moving theatrical mosaic.

This review appeared in some editions yesterday

## Storm clouds usher in Old Trafford's new era

continued from page 1

about this club. He just wants the money and we don't want him here. We've got enough money as it is. We can attract the best players in the world."

Fans arriving for last night's game against Charlton Athletic carried anti-Murdoch banners and wore anti-Murdoch T-shirts. "The End is nigh thanks to Murdoch and Sky," said one. Another banner unfurled at the start of the game read: "No surrender to Murdoch."

Earlier in the day, Mr Edwards pleaded with fans to give him a chance before condemning him.

He told a news conference at the stadium that he accepted he had never been popular with the club's supporters but pointed to the fact that when he took over in 1990, the club had been worth £2 million and it was now worth £225 million.

"Considering all the things I have achieved, I don't think there are many pats on the back for it," he said. "I accept that. All I say is:

Before you string me up, give me a chance. I am not about to do anything that destroys the health and tradition of this club. If I do, I deserve to be strung up, but give me a chance first."

Mr Edwards said the club's flotation on the stock exchange in 1991 had been criticised at the time but had proved a "roaring success".

However, he conceded it had been difficult to take fans' wishes into consideration when the board was considering the offer from BSkyB. "As a public company we have to do the best thing for shareholders as well as our fans."

BSkyB chief executive Mark Booth also tried to allay the fears of United supporters. "Our interests are 100 per cent the same as those of the fans," he told a London news conference.

Earlier the two companies used the official electronic Stock Exchange announcement system to issue an open

letter to fans. Signed by Mr Booth and Mr Edwards, it said: "We want to reassure you about one thing above all. BSkyB are going to let Manchester United be Manchester United."

"BSkyB appreciates that this is a club with a phenomenal heritage, and the most passionate fans in the world. It is not just another business. It is part of the cultural fabric of Manchester and the nation."

However, the Manchester United Supporters Association, which has organised a rally next week to allow fans to unite in opposition to the deal, was not appeased. "We believe it is up to United fans to show their spontaneous opposition to this deal," said the chairman, Andy Walsh.

News of the deal sent share prices in Manchester United soaring to 224p on the London stock market, up from its opening price of 200p.

However, by the end of trading they had settled at 215½p, still below the offer price of approximately 240p.

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Chequered itinerary... The Holy Family with Saints John and Elizabeth and Angels by Joachim Wtewael



'The law favours the true owner of property which has been stolen, however long the period which has elapsed since the original theft'

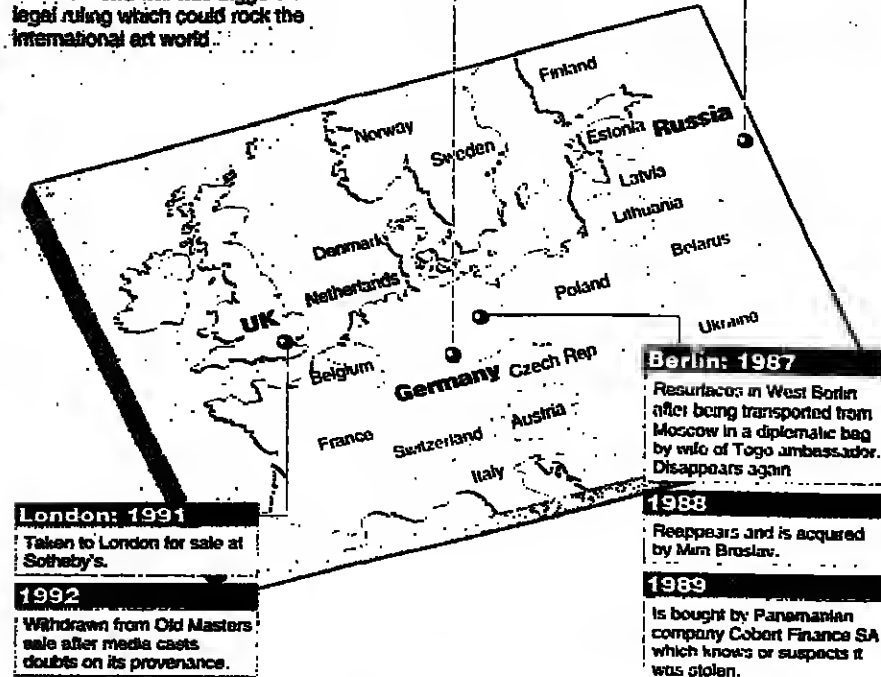
Mr Justice Moses (above)

## Hunt for the Holy Family

This shady piece of a small Dutch masterpiece looted during the second world war has triggered a legal ruling which could rock the international art world

**Gotha: 1945**  
The Holy Family with Saints John and Elizabeth and Angels' stored at the Reinhardtstrasse hunting lodge near Gotha in eastern German province of Thuringia.

**Moscow: 1946**  
Painting looted by Russians and taken to Moscow before disappearing.

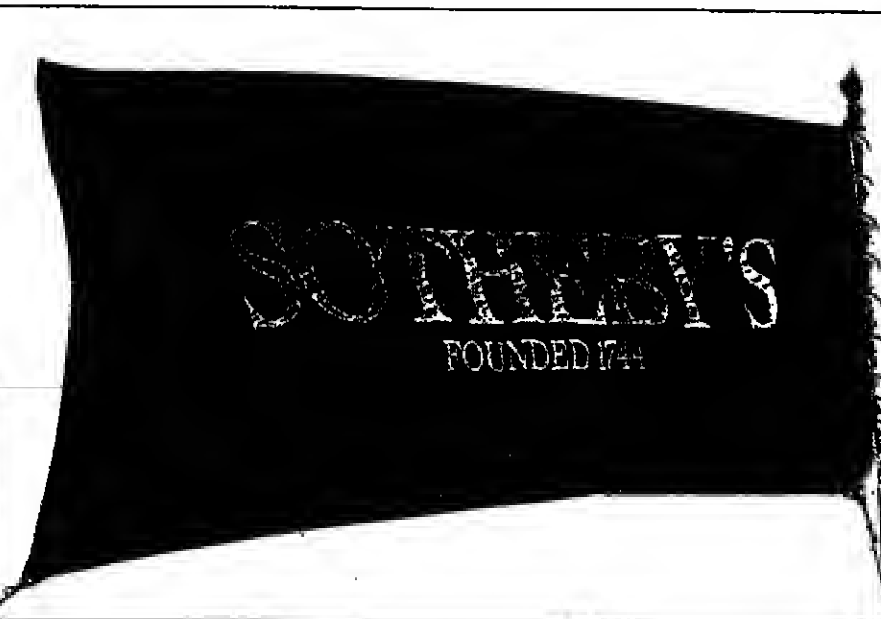


**London: 1991**  
Taken to London for sale at Sotheby's.

**1992**  
Withdrawn from Old Masters sale after media cases.

**1988**  
Resurfaces in West Berlin after being transported from Moscow in a diplomatic bag by wife of Togo ambassador. Disappears again.

**1989**  
Is bought by Panamanian company Cobart Finance SA, which knows or suspects it was stolen.



# Saints who fell into the clutches of sinners

A London court yesterday ordered a Dutch masterpiece looted from Germany to be returned to its rightful owners. Stuart Millar on a ruling that will shake the international art world

IT MEASURES only six inches by eight, and in the past half-century it has passed through the hands of Red Army trophy brigades, Russian art smugglers, and the wife of the Togo ambassador to Moscow. But now a Dutch Old Master, looted from a German art gallery in the final days of the second world war, is to be returned to Germany after a High Court ruling, which will have far-reaching implications for the international art world.

The court ruled that the 17th century painting by Joachim Wtewael, worth an estimated £700,000, was the property of the Federal Republic of Germany, and not of a Panamanian company, Cobart Finance SA, which acquired it through dubious channels in the late 1980s.

The painting, The Holy Family with Saints John and

Elizabeth and Angels, disappeared from the collection of Schloss Friedenstein in the eastern city of Gotha after it fell into Soviet hands in 1945.

The judgment, by Mr Justice Moses, will set a precedent for some of the huge quantity of art stolen by all sides during the war. Between 100,000 and 300,000 important paintings remain missing, including works by some of the most important artists of the past 700 years.

The Art Loss Register's list of missing paintings taken from Belgium alone runs to 102 pages.

If the court had found in Cobart's favour, experts feared the art market would have been flooded with lost masterpieces as those who held them attempted to sell them without fear of challenge by their rightful owners.

Everheds, solicitors for the German government, said:

"The judgment is a landmark decision, which will benefit former owners of a great number of works of art which have shared a similar history."

David Barrie, director of the National Art Collections Fund, said: "We welcome any development which makes it less likely that works of art with a shady provenance will come on to the market. It must be right that people who handle works of art commercially should take every precaution against 'hot' works."

Despite Cobart's admission that neither it nor anyone else had acquired the painting in good faith, it argued that the German authorities had lost all rights to the painting because more than 30 years had passed since the picture was removed — a time limit set by German law.

But the judge said: "The law favours the true owner of property which has been stolen, however long the period which has elapsed since the original theft."

"To allow Cobart to succeed when, on its own admission, it knew or suspected that the painting might be stolen, or that there was something wrong with the transaction, or acted in a manner in which

an honest man would not, does touch the conscience of the court."

The disputed work was painted on copper in 1603. Its pre-war history was not in dispute. Owned by the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha since 1826, it became part of the important Ducal Foundation for Art and Science, set up by the family in 1928. During the war, it is believed to have been placed in storage at a neighbouring castle in what was to become the German Democratic Republic.

It was the painting's post-war fate which was controversial, and which, the court heard, read like a detective novel.

Cobart claimed that an unnamed German family had given the painting as a gift in return for food to a Soviet colonel, Adolf Kozlenkov.

According to the company's version of events, he held it until 1955, when it was given to the Nowakowski family.

When Kozlenkov died in March 1982, it was returned to his son, Alexander, who sold it in 1985. Four years later, a Mina Breslav, sold it to Cobart.

The German authorities alleged this account was a fabrication — not least because a

search through military records revealed no trace of Colonel Kozlenkov.

The judge dismissed Cobart's account. He said the painting was probably taken from the collection in January 1946 by "official" Soviet trophy brigades, operating with the permission of SMERSH, predecessor of the KGB.

After it resurfaced on the illegal art market in Moscow in

the 1980s, it was taken by diplomatic bag to West Berlin, probably in 1987, by Mariouena Diken, wife of the Togo ambassador. It was given to a Berlin art dealer before being acquired by Mrs Breslav in 1988 and by Cobart the following year.

Cobart left it at Sotheby's for auction in 1991, but shortly before it was due to appear at an Old Masters sale in 1992, it was

withdrawn after media reports cast doubt on its provenance.

The controversy continued even after the proceedings began in June. The court heard that a Russian art smuggler who was to give evidence for the German authorities was paid \$10,000 by Mina Breslav's son, apparently as a bribe made in the presence of a Douglas Montgomery, who was in-

volved with Cobart. Montgomery was not seen in court after the allegations were heard.

The painting, which has been in Sotheby's safekeeping, will now be returned to Germany, and is likely to go back on public display after more than 60 years.

Chris Proudlove, of Sotheby's, said: "We will now be handing it back very quickly."

## Neill to make political parties own up to sponsorship deals

David Hencke  
Westminster Correspondent

POLITICAL parties are to be forced to disclose the full financial details of sponsorship deals under sweeping reforms of funding arrangements expected to be announced by Lord Neill, chairman of the Committee on Standards in Public Life, next month.

The proposals are likely to be far stronger than parties or ministers anticipated when they set up Lord Neill's inquiry into party funding after the election.

The surprise move, which will delay publication of the report until mid-October, follows growing evidence that political parties, particularly Labour, are turning to sponsorship deals rather than seeking donations.

Some members of the committee are said to have viewed this trend with such distaste that they wanted to recommend an outright ban on sponsorship deals.

Anger was expressed at the disclosure at the weekend that the US power corporation Enron, and Europe's largest drug company, Novartis, were sponsoring Labour's conference later this month.

Enron has been accused by Amnesty International of colluding in the beating of Indian women and children protesting against pollution, and Novartis has been criticised by environmental campaigners for its genetically modified foods.

A consensus is growing among members of Lord Neill's committee that the solution to the problem is to draw up detailed, watertight rules governing sponsorship

deals. Foreigners would be banned from sponsoring party events and all other parties would have to be made public.

The aim would be to close any loopholes by forcing parties to disclose all gifts or goods rather than just cash donations. This would include sponsorship of dinners and conferences, and donations of such items as stationery and equipment.

Some committee members favour making parties disclose "hidden donations", such as companies paying four-figure sums for advances of party policy reports or for sitting at dinner tables with government ministers.

The committee will meet for a two-day brainstorming session today and tomorrow to agree the main thrust of the report.

This will set the base-line

for the declaration of all public donations — expected to be either £1,000 or £5,000 — and will frame proposed rules outlawing foreign donations.

The rules are expected to include exemptions for foreign multi-national companies which have a substantial workforce in Britain.

The committee has still to decide how to define a foreigner and whether this will apply to tax exiles, two of whom — entrepreneur Michael Ashcroft and actor Sean Connery — provide large and regular donations to the Conservative and Scottish Nationalist parties respectively.

Tony Blair will have to decide promptly whether to accept Lord Neill's findings, since the Government will need to bring in legislation to implement most of the changes.

"Either things have changed since the Comte de Buffon remarked in 1753 that style is the man, or British men are using their clothes to emphasise that appearance is not important to them."

Joan Smith on how men would never be sacked for their dress sense

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Graham guilty of 'disrepute' charges □ Judicial review sought □ Labour in Scotland determined to defend standards in public life

# Scottish MP vows to fight expulsion

SNP seizes on Renfrewshire 'smear campaign' as evidence of Labour sleaze

Gordon Seaman

**L**ABOUR last night acted decisively to claw back its beleaguered image in Scotland as Tommy Graham became the first MP to be expelled from the party for eight years.

Mr Graham immediately said he would seek judicial review of the decision. His expulsion is set to dog Labour for many months to come.

Outside the hearing, a shocked Mr Graham said a decision had been reached only three minutes after final evidence was heard.

He said: "I have been expelled from the Labour Party. I am absolutely shocked and disgusted after 33 years of Labour Party membership to get this treatment. I believe that no matter what I said, at the end of the day I was going

to be expelled. There was too much for them to lose. I have not done anything wrong, nothing to be ashamed of. I will be fighting on as an MP, and I have no intention of resigning. I believe this is one of the biggest embarrassments they [Labour] have faced for many years."

Labour's national constitutional committee found Mr Graham guilty on five charges, more than had been expected. He was found guilty of offering a film negative of a sexually compromising photograph of a gay trade union official to other union officials in return for the personnel file of an election opponent. He was also found guilty of offering a photograph to a third unidentified man.

The third charge concerned his bad-mouthing the Paisley North MP, Irene Adams, Mrs Adams's supporters have claimed that the MP for West

Renfrewshire had called her "a drunken whore", although Mr Graham denied it. Repeatedly, he also accused her of "being lazy" and of "milking" the death of Gordon McMaster, the late MP for Paisley South whose suicide note implicated Mr Graham had been behind a smear campaign against him.

The fourth charge dates back to claims of election irregularities in 1986 when Mr Graham recruited members of his extended family into the Labour Party to try to unseat a Glasgow MP.

Mr Graham was found guilty of a fifth and final catch-all charge of bringing the party into disrepute.

The MP has no right of appeal within Labour Party disciplinary procedures and his only course of action against the NCC's decision must be to seek a judicial review. That move will mirror the action of Pat Lally, Glasgow's lord provost, whose suspension by the Labour Party was overturned in the Scottish courts earlier this year.

After the 19-hour hearing Mr Graham accused the NCC

panel, including Derek Inshall, Kath Ashton and Anne Gibson, of having made up their minds before the hearing began.

The Scottish Secretary, Donald Dewar, kept his reaction short, mindful of the likely legal action that will follow. In a damage limitation exercise, he commented: "This determination shows that the Scottish Labour Party can, and will, act decisively to defend standards in Scottish public life."

The Scottish National Party immediately seized on Mr Graham's expulsion as evidence of sleaze within Labour's Scottish ranks. "Labour in Scotland is consumed by fighting and factionalism and is failing to tackle the real issues. They are a disgrace to Scotland and they are letting down people who voted for them," said Mike Russell, the SNP's chief executive.

Mr Graham's seat is 10th on the SNP's most winnable list. The party needs a 10 per cent swing to take it, and last night said it was certain of doing so at the next election.



Tommy Graham, who faced five charges of misconduct

Profile/ Scottish Labour MP  
Tommy Graham was once seen as a 'lovable rogue'. But not so now

Ewen MacAskill

**T**OMMY Graham established a reputation as a lovable rogue in the years after he became an MP in 1987. It was difficult to find many in the Labour Party yesterday who any longer believed there was anything lovable about the Member for Renfrewshire West.

The Labour inquiry into his conduct was damaging both for him and the party. The allegations, including rigged membership figures and an offer of a sexually-explicit gay photograph, do not help a party fighting for its life against the Scottish National Party.

When Mr Graham, a former Rolls-Royce engineer, arrived at Westminster in 1987, he was the archetypal working class Glaswegian: Parliament's own Rab C Nesbitt. Behind the buffoon image was a tough backstreet politician, with a network of contacts from his days as a Strathclyde regional councillor.

Mr Graham's undoing was a seemingly innocuous boundary review after the 1992 general election. Worried that his seat was about to become a marginal, his opponents claim he set out to destabilise neighbouring MPs, intent on finding another seat both for himself and his cronies. The Labour inquiry concentrated on allegations of attempts to manipulate membership in key branches.

The in-fighting left a legacy of bitterness, and Mr Graham's world began to come

apart after the 1987 general election. The Paisley South MP Gordon McMaster left a suicide note accusing him of running a smear campaign against him. A Labour inquiry cleared him of contributing to the suicide, but a wider investigation was launched.

The inquiry also looked at a "gay photograph" allegation. Before the general election, three Labour members attempted to oust Mr Graham as the candidate. Subsequently, allegations emerged that a compromising gay picture of a prominent Labour figure was offered in return for information about one of Mr Graham's opponents. Mr Graham insists he has never seen a gay picture in his life.

Mr Graham has a holiday home in the Highlands. Labour hopes he will quietly disappear there.



Gordon McMaster: suicide note accused Graham



Camilla Carr and Jon James as seen on the video (left), and war-torn buildings in Grozny (below)

## Hostage Britons shown alive

Amelia Gentlemen

**T**HE first concrete evidence that the two British hostages held captive in Chechnya are alive and well emerged yesterday when a short video of the couple filmed at the end of last month was made public.

The families of Camilla Carr and Jon James, who were abducted by Chechen gunmen in July last year, said they were encouraged by the two minute film, which shows the couple in reasonable health.

But their deteriorating physical and mental condition is painfully evident, highlighting for relatives the urgency of their campaign to have them released.

Dated August 24, it shows Ms Carr, aged 40, and Mr James, 38, bundled together, looking pale, drawn, vulner-

able and under pressure. Clearly trying to send a positive message back home, they smile and do not complain.

Ms Carr revealed that letters sent to Chechnya — a republic in the Russian Federation — via the British embassy had somehow got through to them and asked them to send more. She said they were able to listen to the BBC World Service on radio.

Only a few other clues emerged as to the conditions they are living in. Mr James, spoliaged for his quiet voice, explaining: "It is the first time I have used my voice at this volume." He added: "I don't know how long I can stay sane." Ms Carr added firmly: "But we will."

The couple were shown sitting by a green Chechen hut, possibly an indication that they remain in the republic. British officials do not know where they are being held or

what their captors want.

The couple were kidnapped from their home in the capital, Grozny, where they had been working for three months as volunteers for a Quaker-run organisation set up to help children traumatised by the recent civil war.

Several attempts to rescue them have failed, and a reward of £100,000 offered by the Chechen president, Aslan Maskhadov, this year has had no success.

Fears for their safety were heightened last month when two freed Hungarian hostages told how they had been "shackled like animals" in Chechnya.

Mr James's mother, Doris, said she was distressed by the film, which Foreign Office officials had shown her family at their Gloucestershire home. "It was heartbreaking to see them but to know we could not talk to them. It is

difficult for us to cope with this, but we sincerely hope there will be a breakthrough soon." She said Mr James's son, Ben, aged 18, had watched the film several times.

Ms Carr's sister, Alexandra, said: "It's very encouraging to see that their captors are obviously looking after them quite well, and it's wonderful to see them smiling and sending messages to their children. We don't know why the video was released, but we can only hope it's the start of something positive."

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "We can't give details about where the video came from because we are talking about the hostages' lives, but it is encouraging to see such recent evidence that they are alive and together. We are always working around the clock in our efforts in this case, and we shall continue to do so."



## Fashanu 'killed himself for fear of unfair trial'

Vikram Dodd

**T**HE former soccer star Justin Fashanu committed suicide because he wrongly feared US police were bunting him for the sexual assault of a teenager, an inquest heard yesterday.

Fashanu, aged 37, the first £1 million black player, was found hanging in an east London garage in May. In a note found by his corpse the former Nottingham Forest and Norwich striker wrote that he had killed himself because of the allegation that he had sexually assaulted a 17-year-old boy.

Fashanu said the teenager had fabricated the assault and was blackmailing him. He said he would not get a fair trial because he was gay, and committed suicide to avoid putting his friends and family "through any more unhappiness."

The suicide note, which was read out at the hearing, said: "I felt I was abandoned,

left alone, without anybody to turn to. Being gay and a personality is so hard, but everybody has it hard at the moment so I can't complain about that."

"I want to say that I didn't sexually assault the young boy. He willingly had sex with me and then the next day asked for money. When I said no he said 'you wait and see'."

"If that is the case, I hear you say, why did I run? Well, justice isn't always fair. I felt I wouldn't get a fair trial because of my homosexuality."

"I want to die rather than put my friends and family through any more unhappiness. I wish I was more of a good son, brother, uncle and friend, but I tried my best. This seems to be a really hard world."

"I hope the Jesus I love welcomes me home. I will at last find peace."

Fashanu rose to stardom despite his and his brother

John being adopted. As his football career declined after he left Norwich for Nottingham Forest, Justin's life descended into chaos.

Recording a verdict of suicide at Poplar coroner's court, Stephen Ming Chan said: "He was a man who had achieved success in his life against tremendous odds."

"He was a man who appeared to have triumphed over his disruptive upbringing, much difficulty in life, in the face of prejudice against his colour and hostility against his sexual preference."

"Still, in the end, he felt overwhelmed by these same pressures, not helped by his worries over an alleged incident in the US against him."

"Clearly he did not wish to cause more pain or more distress to his family or loved ones. Sadly he decided that death was the only way out for him."



Justin Fashanu, left, who killed himself in May, and his brother, John, both rose to stardom.



can police revealed there was no arrest warrant for Fashanu, contrary to newspaper reports immediately before his death.

After the case Justin's brother, John, himself a former soccer star, flanked by their mother, Pearl, and brother, Philip, said: "We are all very pleased it is over. I beg everybody, especially the

media, to look at the coroner's report, listen to what the coroner had to say, and I think that says it all."

John Pickford, a barman and receptionist at the Charlots spa and pub in east London, was the last person to see Fashanu alive.

Fashanu arrived there the evening before his death and appeared normal, Mr Pick-

ford said. He made a call before leaving, saying: "Thanks, I have had a good time in here."

The next day Stephen O'Connor, whose flat is next to the garage, opened the doors to park his car and found Justin's body hanging from the rafters with blood stains on his trousers from his slashed wrists.

## Ethnic minorities 'pessimistic over race relations'

Lucy Ward  
Political Correspondent

**B**LACK and Asian young people are deeply pessimistic about worsening race relations in Britain, according to a report which accuses the Government of offering only a "lukewarm" response to the concerns of ethnic minorities.

The study, published yesterday, uncovers a deep sense of alienation from the political process among many people from ethnic minorities. Of those eligible to vote, more than a quarter are not registered, rising to 55 per cent among blacks in one of the constituencies surveyed.

The report, by Mohammed

that black and Asian people are significantly more pessimistic over race relations than their white counterparts.

A survey in five inner city local authorities found that white voters were at least three times more likely to feel relations had improved locally and nationally. A similar pattern of ethnic difference emerged over expectations for race relations over the next five years, with black people aged 18 to 24 proving particularly pessimistic. Four out of five believe relations will worsen.

Voters of all ethnic backgrounds believed the major political parties were failing to integrate ethnic minorities into the political process.

Prof Anwar and OBV yes-

### The future of race relations

Answers to race relations in the next five years, by ethnic group.



Anwar of Warwick university's centre for research in ethnic relations, confirms overwhelming support for Labour among ethnic minority voters, but warns that statements made by the party before the general election "have not been effectively translated into action".

The warning is echoed today by the chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, Sir Herman Ouseley, who writes in the New Statesman that ethnic minority votes cannot be taken for granted by Labour. He adds: "Black and Asian voters may not flock to other parties but there is evidence that younger people (particularly Afro-Caribbeans) are opting out of democratic politics."

Professor Anwar's study, commissioned by Operation Black Vote — a campaign group set up to increase black participation in politics, finds

terday called on the Government to do more to encourage participation. He said: "Equality of opportunity in the political process is crucial if we are to achieve equality in other fields."

OBV called for more ethnic minority candidates, and more effort to encourage people to register to vote. Co-ordinator Simon Woolley said: "Issues like the murder of Stephen Lawrence have confirmed some people's worst fears about the police and the political system. It took four years for the Government to take the death of this black teenager seriously."

Home Office Minister Mike O'Brien told BBC Radio 4's Today programme that the Government accepted there was no room for complacency. In the last year it had introduced tough new laws to tackle racial violence and harassment.

These books risk being like the Blair-bite: they sound good and plausible but don't bear closer examination. Is this the end for self-help books?

Women page 4

سكان من العراق







# Fight for laptop and lederhosen vote

Kohl's allies may have Bavaria's state election in the bag but, says **Ian Traynor** in Mühldorf, anything less than crushing victory will look like defeat — and could knock on to the national vote

WITH his signet ring proclaiming the pleasures of smoking cannabis and a gold stud in his left ear, Horst Barnert hardly matches the image of the typical, rural Bavarian: deeply traditionalist, god-fearing, with a political outlook that verges on the redneck reactionary.

All around him in the huge beer tent, formidable dim-dim-dim waitresses haul litre-mugs of beer and trays of pork knuckle and sauerkraut while the brass band, all in lederhosen, strikes up another oompahpah tune.

Mr Barnert, aged 27, a village butcher, slips his mineral water and expounds on his mildly heretical views. He thinks the single European currency is a great thing and that the Germans are being unfair towards the Czechs because of old wartime grievances, opinions that bring a short shrift among the 3,000 gathered in the giant marquee in support of Bavaria's ruling party, the conservative Christian Social Union (CSU).

But when the prosperous south German state goes to the polls on Sunday for a state election that will have a strong impact on Germany's national ballot a fortnight later, the CSU can nonetheless count on Mr Barnert's support.

"For Bavaria the CSU is just simply the right party," he says. "This used to be an agricultural land, now it's a successful industrial land. That's because of the CSU. We'll win here in Bavaria, but the CSU and Christian Democrats will lose in the general elections."

It is a widespread view, reinforcing the impression that Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrat-led coalition in Bonn, which includes the Bavarian CSU, is heading for defeat on September 27, but that the CSU will win comfortably in its home state on Sunday.

"I'm not so conservative

and I think that Kohl is finished," says Barbara Miksch, aged 31, who works at the local chemicals factory. "But Bavaria is really well governed and we're just used to having the CSU in power." The party has been in power unchallenged since just before Mr Miksch was born, which means that the CSU can still win easily on Sunday and yet suffer a mighty defeat. This is because at issue is not a victory, but the margin of that victory.

In a German political system that favours the formation of coalition governments, Bavaria is unique in having conferred an absolute majority on the CSU for the past 32 years. The party's post-war high came in 1974 when it took 62 per cent of the vote. But since then it has been sinking by around two percentage points at every election to the point where it now risks falling below the all-important 50 per cent mark.

For Edmund Stoiber, the dynamic and ascetic Bavarian prime minister and CSU number two, the paramount task on Sunday is to retain an absolute majority. "50 per cent plus 2" as he puts it five times a day in his grueling campaign speeches.

In the beer tent in Mühldorf, a small pretty town of 17,000 lying 50 miles east of Munich, Mr Stoiber treats his audience to a two-hour, tub-thumping vision of a Bavaria boasting modern, hi-tech industries successfully grafted on to its rural roots.

"Laptops and Lederhosen, that's Bavaria's secret," he declares as he paints a picture of a state that is the envy of the rest of Germany. "We used to be incredibly poor, the poorest part of Germany. And it's not an accident that we now have the lowest unemployment, the highest investment, the best schools, the least crime. All the others want to be Bavaria now. Bavaria really is unique, no question."

That is the claim. It goes down very well with the self-satisfied crowd which roars its approval. But then comes Mr Stoiber's real point. "This election is not about whether I remain prime minister, but about how I remain prime minister."

In 1994, the CSU took 52.8 per cent of the vote. This time, its support eroded by splinter groups and a proliferation of small parties, it is hovering around 50 per cent. "If we get 49.9 per cent, that won't be a success," says Christina Sax, aged 21, a pharmacy student and party member.

Because the CSU will accrue votes redistributed from small parties that fail to muster the 5 per cent needed to enter the state parliament in Munich, it can probably afford to sink as low as 46 per cent and still retain an overall governing majority.

But Mr Stoiber admits openly that anything under 50 per cent would be a historic defeat for Bavaria's natural party of government, and the CSU can no longer easily get its own way in the state of 12 million. Earlier this year a grassroots campaign triggered a referendum that voted for the abolition of the Senate, the upper house in Munich, despite fierce CSU opposition.

And the closeness of the Bavarian vote to the national ballot means that Sunday is much more than just a state election.

If Mr Stoiber's crusade to maximise his vote pays off, it will be a tremendous filip to the flagging Kohl campaign entering the final, crucial stretch. But if the CSU falls below the 50 per cent watershed, the ripple effect nationally will confirm the general mood that Germany is on the brink of change and correspondingly boost the confidence of Gerhard Schröder, Mr Kohl's Social Democrat challenger.

It will also be a crushing blow for Theo Waigel, the finance minister in Bonn, who is the CSU leader and rival of Mr Stoiber's.

"It's 50 per cent plus, or nothing," says Mr Barnert, the ear-ringed butcher. "Anything else would be a defeat. But we'll do it. I'm sure. Because this is Bavaria."

People walk inside the new dome of the former and future home of the German parliament, the Reichstag, yesterday. Reconstruction was overseen by the British architect Sir Norman Foster and is due to be completed by spring 1999 when the government moves from Bonn to Berlin

## Remember, urges Spielberg



THE American film director Steven Spielberg, right, made his first visit to a Nazi concentration camp inside Germany yesterday and said he was encouraged that so many young Germans took part in tours of the camp.

He spent 45 minutes touring Sachsenhausen, north of Berlin, where about 200,000 slave labourers — Jews, gypsies, homosexuals and opponents of the Nazis — were held between 1936 and 1945. Nearly half of them were murdered or perished under barbarous conditions.

"Remembrance, honesty, the future — we must tell of this," Spielberg wrote in the guest book. The director of Schindler's List receives a medal of merit today in Berlin from President Roman Herzog. — Reuters.

Reading the runes... deputies in the Duma scan newspapers for clues to the next prime minister. PHOTOGRAPH: ALEXANDER NATRUSKIN

neurs, affordable housing, and limited nationalisation and protectionism — sounded odd after their leader, Genady Zyuganov, said earlier in the day that he did not want to lead a government.

"There's no time for learning on the job," he said. "We need someone who understands the market."

Mr Zyuganov, a moderate on issues of economics and force, has had difficulty straddling the extreme pro-business and radical Soviet reviv-

alism wings of his own party. The Duma is renowned for last minute climbdowns, but this time there is a strong left-centre blocking majority determined — publicly, at least — to vote against Mr Chernomyrdin.

Normally, this would mean automatic dissolution of parliament within three months. But both sides are boasting of esoteric loopholes. The Kremlin claims that a twist of electoral law means that none of the major parties currently

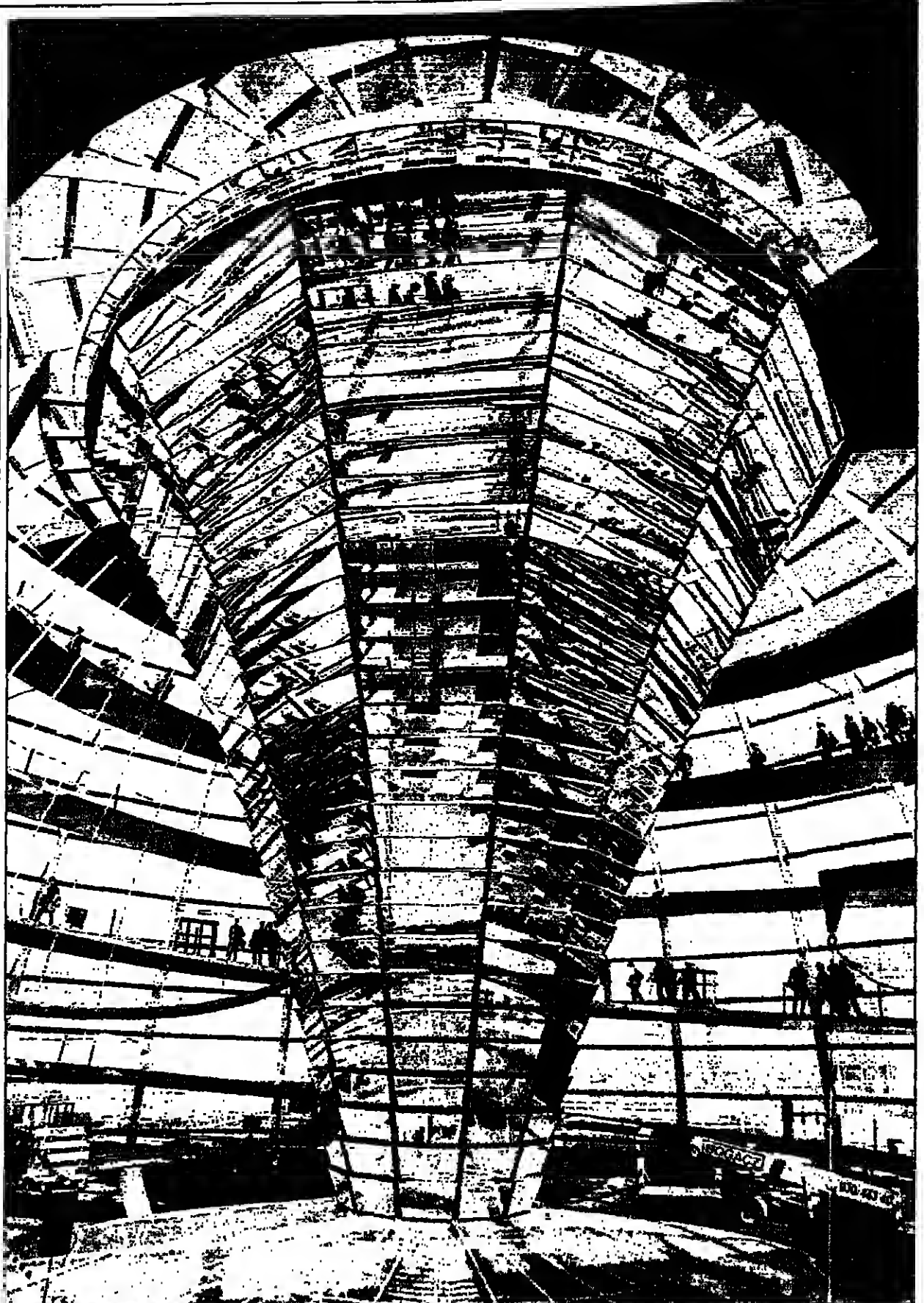
sitting in the Duma, including the communists, can legally contest elections until next spring.

The anti-Chernomyrdin front in parliament warns that if Mr Yeltsin nominates him again, they will immediately call a vote starting impeachment proceedings against the president on the grounds that his 1994 decision to launch military action against Chechnya was illegal.

Once impeachment proceedings have begun, parliament cannot be dissolved.

As Moscow waited yesterday, political commentators struggled to read the runes of enigmatic encounters behind closed doors and to divine significance in the most banal hardships of crisis life.

"Yesterday, the Duma's buffet ran out of coffee," intoned a Russian reporter making a live TV broadcast from outside the parliament building. "Today, they ran out of sausages."



People walk inside the new dome of the former and future home of the German parliament, the Reichstag, yesterday. Reconstruction was overseen by the British architect Sir Norman Foster and is due to be completed by spring 1999 when the government moves from Bonn to Berlin

PHOTOGRAPH: JACQUES ECKEL

## President keeps the Duma guessing

James Meek in Moscow

THERE were signs yesterday that the ailing, secluded President Boris Yeltsin was preparing to defy parliament and public opinion by nominating the discredited Victor Chernomyrdin as prime minister for a third and final time.

Despite a market rally which saw the ruble recover some of its lost value, Moscow was again left waiting like Rome before the election of a new pope as no sign of a new prime ministerial nominee came from Mr Yeltsin's country retreat.

Mr Chernomyrdin has twice failed to win the Duma's approval. A third attempt would lead immediately to a political showdown with unpredictable consequences.

Speculation continued yesterday that Mr Yeltsin's hesitation in re-submitting Mr Chernomyrdin's name meant he might put forward another candidate.

There were furries of excitement as the preferred candidates of parliament's left-centre majority — acting foreign minister Yevgeny Primakov, Moscow mayor Yuri Luzhkov and the Soviet Union's last head of state planning, Yuri Maslyukov — seemed set for audiences with the president.

Only Mr Primakov met Mr Yeltsin. But all three men met Mr Chernomyrdin, suggest-

ing that, aided by the president's chief aide Valentin Yumashev, he is trying to cut deals with his potential replacements. Interfax news agency quoted Mr Luzhkov as saying after the meeting that he believed the president would nominate Mr Chernomyrdin again.

Clouding the picture was the arrival in Moscow yesterday of the popular governor of Krasnoyarsk, General Alexander Lebed. The apolitical, neo-Gaullist former paratrooper, said he would not serve under Mr Yeltsin again. He called on the president to resign, saying he would assume responsibility for saving Russia if the situation deteriorated.

There have been indications that the influential financier Boris Berezovsky, credited with promoting Mr Chernomyrdin's cause all summer, might switch his support to Gen Lebed. However, it is equally likely that he and the Chernomyrdin camp are using the spectre of Gen Lebed to frighten the Duma and the rest of the establishment into supporting Mr Chernomyrdin.

Last night the communists, the single largest party in parliament, weighed into the fray by declaring in an "appeal to the Russian people" that they were ready to form a government.

The appeal — a reprise of their 1996 election programme, promising jobs for all, cheap loans for entrepre-

neurs, affordable housing, and limited nationalisation and protectionism — sounded odd after their leader, Genady Zyuganov, said earlier in the day that he did not want to lead a government.

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Mr Zyuganov, a moderate on issues of economics and force, has had difficulty straddling the extreme pro-business and radical Soviet reviv-

alism wings of his own party. The Duma is renowned for last minute climbdowns, but this time there is a strong left-centre blocking majority determined — publicly, at least — to vote against Mr Chernomyrdin.

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sitting in the Duma, including the communists, can legally contest elections until next spring.

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## Independence day leaves the citizens unfazed

Tom Whitehouse in Kaliningrad

FOR Victor Pisyukov, a salesman and part-time security guard, day one of Kaliningrad's official state of emergency was a big anti-climax.

"Unless I'd seen it on TV, I wouldn't have noticed," he said. "We all know this is an emergency, there's no need to declare it."

There were no extra police on the streets and certainly no tanks. Shoppers carried on where they left off on Tuesday, desperately buying salt, sugar, flour and vegetable oil, ready for the shortages. Unfortunately for Mr Pisyukov, the bottom fell out of the bra market. The first customer at his stall yesterday was a pensioner begging for bread money.

It is not surprising that Kaliningrad, Russia's Wales-sized enclave on the Baltic, should be the first region to declare a state of emergency. Surrounded by Poland and Lithuania, Kaliningrad is denied easy access to Russia's dwindling food and fuel reserves.

"All our coal and 80 per cent of our food comes from Poland," said Arkady Mikhalchuk, press spokesman for Kaliningrad's governor. "We get all our fuel from Lithuania. It's now three times dearer and we can't afford it."

With Boris Yeltsin still struggling to form a government, Kaliningrad felt

justified in taking action, but in Moscow it seemed they were declaring independence. "The citizens in this region should realise that this move is leading to the destruction of the Russian federation," said Genady Seleznevov, speaker of parliament's lower house.

After phone calls from the Kremlin, pointing out that according to the constitution only the president can declare an emergency, Kaliningrad officials had some explaining to do.

"Yes, there was a misun-

derstanding," said Mr Mikhalchuk. "We only meant to declare a state of emergency with regard to our fuel supplies."

Kaliningrad, formerly heartland of Prussia and anchor of Bismarck's Germany, was annexed by the Soviet Union after the second world war.

ments for trying to buy peace and demanded police continue a "zero tolerance" campaign against corruption, organised crime and separatist violence begun after a government official was murdered this year.

writes Jon Herley in Paris.

**Protest cut short**

A Chinese woman was dragged away for protesting about her husband's detention without trial as the new UN human rights commissioner, Mary Robinson, was about to give a speech at the Beijing Hilton, writes John Gittings in Hong Kong.

**Corsica criticism**

A French parliamentary report on Corsica yesterday condemned successive govern-

ments for trying to buy peace and demanded police continue a "zero tolerance" campaign against corruption, organised crime and separatist violence begun after a government official was murdered this year.

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## South African police plead for amnesty after 'dirty war'

David Beresford in Pretoria

EIGHT former policemen yesterday appealed to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission for amnesty for several attacks carried out during the country's "dirty war", including the 1982 bombing of the ANC's London headquarters.

Headed by their former commander, General Johan

Coetzee, the applicants reflected the diverse activities of what was the world's most notorious police force.

They included Craig Williamson, who was known as "superspy", Eugene de Kock, who has become the personification of the professional hit man, and Vic Macpherson, one-time chief propagandist whose new obsession is untangling the skein of lies in which he once wrapped the force.

In court were the daughters of the well-known anti-apartheid activist Ruth First, who was killed by a parcel bomb sent to her by the police in 1982.

Gen Coetzee denied responsibility for that murder and any others. "I knew her well," he said. "It should never have happened. I never gave an instruction that someone should be assassinated, or killed, inside or outside the country."

Civil rights lawyer George Bizos told Gen Coetzee to read an account from the autobiography of De Kock, in which the force's chief assassin described a 1986 police raid into Swaziland where they killed three people.

De Kock described how the triumphant police unit had reported back to Gen Coetzee at his Pretoria home. Gen Coetzee had given them coffee and shaken everyone's hand.

"When he got to me he said he did not know whether he should touch my hands because they were covered in blood," De Kock wrote.

Mr Bizos listed ANC suspects abroad and ANC officials in South Africa who are known to have been killed by police under Gen Coetzee's command, but the general denied knowledge of them.

Asked whom he thought was responsible for the kill-

ings, Gen Coetzee said: "It could be anyone. It could be an outside agency that was involved in the East-West situation. There were very many allegations made, for instance, against the CIA."

Mr Bizos then asked him about the death of a Swaziland activist in 1982. "Who did you think was the fairy godmother who got rid of yet another ANC chief representative in a neighbouring country?"

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سكان البحر



# What will seal Bill Clinton's fate?

## 36 congressmen and four words

Politics drives the impeachment process, writes **Gary Younge**. The House judiciary committee must decide if 'high crimes and misdemeanours' were involved

**T**HE mechanics for forcing America's most powerful man from office are being rolled. The spirit of the founding fathers is being invoked; weighty constitutional issues are being brought off the shelf and studied; and historical precedents revisited. H2-186, the first-floor room in a congressional building where the crucial initial vote by the House of Representatives' Judiciary committee will be held — the Gerald R Ford House office — stands renovated and waiting.

The decision to impeach is essentially political. An impeachable offence is whatever

a majority of the House of Representatives considers it to be at a given moment in history. Mr Ford — who was to succeed Richard Nixon as president — himself remarked in 1970 when Washington was debating the impeachment of a supreme court judge.

The independent special prosecutor, Kenneth Starr, who has been investigating Mr Clinton's conduct, may build an irrefutable legal case — obstruction of justice, perjury or abuse of presidential powers in the Monica Lewinsky affair are among the possibilities — when he produces his findings shortly.

But it is for Congress to decide whether these findings are worthy of impeachment proceedings.

Key to the process is the Judiciary committee — a collection of 36 congressmen to whom Mr Starr's inquiry report will first be presented.

With 21 Republicans and 15 Democrats the committee has a right-wing bias. Its chairman, Henry Hyde, made his name in the 1970s by sponsoring an amendment banning federal funding of abortions. Another of its Republican members, Bob Barr, tried to impeach Mr Clinton even before the scandal over the president's relationship with Ms Lewinsky, a former White House intern.

The Judiciary committee's Democratic members include three African-Americans, who are all reluctant to see Mr Clinton go, and a gay congressman from Boston, Barney Frank, who has so far treated talk of impeachment as a bit of a joke.

The committee may be polarised, but unfortunately for



President Richard Nixon reading his resignation speech on television in 1974. He stepped down under party pressure over the Watergate break-in before impeachment proceedings could begin

President Clinton, it is not particularly partisan.

"These people — god help us — they vote their consciences," one committee source told the New Yorker magazine. They can also take their own written evidence and testimony — meaning Mr Clinton or Ms Lewinsky might testify again.

At issue is whether the committee believes the Starr report has enough material to prove that Mr Clinton's conduct amounts to "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours". The last four words mark the spot where politics meet semantics.

"High crimes and misde-

meanours" can mean almost anything the committee wants it to mean. In the 18th century it probably meant offence against the state, rather than the person. But a definitive explanation does not exist.

If the committee decides that a formal inquiry is warranted, it would seek a House

vote to authorise such an investigation.

The objective would be to develop "articles of impeachment" — basically, charges — that the Senate would use during a trial to try to remove the president from office.

When finished — which could take weeks or even months — the articles would be sent to the full House of Representatives.

It was at this point that the Republican president, Richard Nixon, resigned in August 1974 over the Watergate scandal involving a cover-up of a break-in at a Democratic Party office. He was nudged over the edge not by lawyers or even the Judiciary committee — which was far more moderate than today's — but grandees within his own party, and public opinion.

If Mr Clinton were to make it that far, his future would be in the hands of the House. If approved by a majority vote, the articles would then be passed back to the Senate for

full impeachment proceedings.

A two-thirds majority, 67 votes out of 100, is needed to convict. At that point President Clinton would be formally impeached and forced to leave office.

One Starr insider has promised that the details in the report are so sexually graphic "they will make you want to throw up". Just how much the public hears about the contents will depend on lawyers and leakers.

Lawmakers will have to decide whether to make portions of the report public. And to try to block the leakers, the door of room H2-186 can be opened only by knowing both the combination to the front-door lock and the alarm code. Some believe that any attempt at secrecy will be futile. "As soon as they send it over here, everybody on the face of the globe will know what's in it," Mr Frank, the Boston congressman, has said. "Ultimately, we'll say, 'Let's put it on the Internet'."

### Town with same name delivers its verdict

In the rural North Carolina town of Clinton (named after a hero of the war of independence) feelings are running high — both for and against — the president.

"We should change the town's name. I don't want nothing to do with the man!" William Pata, retired state trooper

"A person's private life ought to be his private life, whether it's the president of the United States or the person on the street" Mayor Emsey Kennedy

"If he's a government leader, he ought to have a little integrity. I don't think he has any!" Andy Shaffer, member of religious group the Promise Keepers

"He's just a man. I can't expect no more of him than I can expect of myself. I've got my own problems to keep straight" James Colwell, barber

"He'd been better off if he'd owned up to it to start with, but after all, he did own up to it eventually. How many men wouldn't deny this if their wives were around?" Albert Kaseel, councillor

"He's very, very careless and a liar. I would hate for him to be my husband" Jane, Albert Kaseel's wife



President Clinton boards Air Force One yesterday to fly to Florida. Earlier, he met Democratic congressional leaders regarding Kenneth Starr's report. PHOTOGRAPH BY WIN McNAMARA

### View from a limo gives no cheer to man who needs to be loved

#### Comment

Maureen Dowd in Silver Spring, Maryland

**T**HIS is what Bill Clinton saw from the window of his limousine.

This is what the man who hungered his whole life to be president, the man with such a voracious need to be loved, the man who cares so much about how history judges him, saw as his motorcade left Pine Crest elementary school after a warm reception from the handpicked crowd for his speech on education.

As the president smiled and waved from behind the windshield, he saw a man holding a sign above his 19-month-old daughter's buggy, which read: "President, Stay Away From Our Daughters." He saw another man holding a sign that read: "Get Lost." He

saw a group of protesters booing and holding a banner that read: "Time to impeach."

Before the president sped past, a secret service agent approached a group of children, after one child had dropped a pencil, and asked if they were picking up rocks to throw at the motorcade.

Four girls from a nearby Catholic school stationed themselves at the best vantage point — under the "Time to impeach" sign.

One of them, Victoria Chapa, aged 10, asked giddily: "Is Monica Lewinsky going to come by?"

But the mood in this Washington DC suburb was serene compared to what the president faced in the city. For the first time, all of Mr Clinton's great escapes, semantic dodges and political stratagems were failing him. He was trapped. Even his political rivals seemed shaken to see him lose his famous resilience. The attorney general, Janet Reno, was opening an investigation into his campaign finance methods. The

capital was bracing itself for independent counsel Kenneth Starr's X-rated report.

It is sad and strange to watch Mr Clinton give speeches. His words twang with unintended ironies and double entendres. You wonder how he can get through a day without shattering from the pressure of watching his presidency melt. No one, except hardcore foes, is getting any pleasure out of seeing a president who started with so many dreams live through so much censure.

At Pine Crest, Mr Clinton seemed like a character from a Russian novel, smug by his own conscience. He was talking about the country, but it sounded as if he was talking about himself.

"Sometimes when things are going really well for people, they get a little self-indulgent, easily distracted, and basically just want to kick back and relax," he said. "It's a natural tendency for individuals. You go through a tough time, and you work and you work and work, and

things get really good — you say, thank goodness, things are not so bad as they used to be, I'm going to relax... I believe that would be a serious error because I think, again, at times when you have many blessings, your responsibilities are greater."

The audience was upbeat, but there was a wistful undertone. Here was a president whose noble intentions for children and the poor are threatened because his words have lost meaning, or taken on a risible interpretation.

The president was urging "higher levels of accountability" and more discipline for schools. He said that in the guidance of children, actions speak louder than words.

But he has too often cast off the connection between words and actions and refused to take responsibility. Politicians have a lifetime of words. But a president has only a limited time for meaningful actions. And Bill Clinton will always have to live with that knowledge. — *New York Times*

### New inquiry into campaign finance 'abuses' adds to mounting woes

Martin Kettle in Washington

**B**ILL CLINTON faces the threat of an embarrassing set of inquiries into his financial conduct even if he survives the mounting danger to his presidency generated by independent counsel Kenneth Starr's investigations into the Lewinsky affair.

The decision by the attorney-general, Janet Reno, to open a preliminary investigation into Mr Clinton's fundraising tactics during the 1996 presidential elections raises the possibility that allegations about campaign finance abuses will dog the president until he leaves the White House and beyond.

Those inquiries may cause almost as many headaches for the vice-president, Al Gore, who would succeed Mr Clinton in the event of resignation or impeachment and who has his sights set on winning the presidency in 2000.

The preliminary investigation announced by Ms Reno on Tuesday consists of a 90-day inquiry into whether Mr Clinton helped to plan a \$44 million (22 million) Democratic Party "issue ad" campaign that improperly benefited his re-election effort in breach of campaign spending laws.

If Ms Reno concludes that

Democratic Party fundraising but she has now authorised separate examinations of the roles of Mr Gore and of Mr Clinton's former deputy chief-of-staff, Harold Ickes.

The new inquiry will focus on whether Mr Clinton and his aides drafted and co-ordinated party issue ads on themes central to the re-election

Democratic National Committee and the Clinton-Gore campaign.

"In short, these ads were not only lawful," he said, "they were completely appropriate."

The three new inquiries expose the complexity of US campaign fundraising laws. Both main parties have exploited loopholes allowing issue ads since tighter restrictions were imposed in the 1980s.

Mr Clinton's private lawyer, David Kendall, said yesterday the Clinton-Gore ads "differed in no substantial respect" from similar ones prepared by the Republican Dole-Kemp presidential campaign in 1996.

Republicans criticised Ms Reno for adopting a cautious approach and insisting on separate inquiries, a tactic she employed in response to allegations last year about fundraising phone calls made by Mr Clinton and Mr Gore from government property.

The allegations might dog Clinton until he leaves the White House and beyond

there is a case to warrant further investigation leading to possible charges against Mr Clinton, she will appoint an independent counsel.

The new investigation is the third preliminary inquiry announced by Ms Reno into the fundraising issue in two weeks. In the past the attorney-general has resisted demands for a wide-ranging inquiry into

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# Comment

## Diary

Matthew Norman

I AM distressed to learn of the death of a young man, David Yelland, a 25-year-old student at a story published here in June concerning the abandonment of his luxurious car. We reported that, one day in London, Mr Yelland rushed for a tube, and although he narrowly failed to make it, his Irish pig duty embarked without him. This, we now gather, was not the case. The incident in fact took place on the New York subway, the wig becoming caught in the sliding doors when they closed, and thus forcing Mr Yelland to travel one stop in a state of entrapment. After this fiasco, Mr Yelland (possibly on the advice of his missus) decided that the car was more trouble than it was worth, and he has been scaling the apex of journalism ever since. So hats off. Or rather, in this case, hats on. Mr Yelland has failed to return a call on this matter — an impudence that would normally earn its committer a rebuke. However it is not this column's policy to offend editors of national newspapers, and we'll let it pass this once.

TODAY'S extract from All For Love, Express editor Rizia Rosie Boycott's steamy classic set in 1930, finds virginal debutante Violet de Courcy leaving the Duke of Westminster's party aboard the Cutty Sark with Australian media magnate James Franklin. In James's car, they kiss. "A fire seemed to course through her, melting her senses, making her weak," writes Rizia. "James pulled back and gazed into her eyes. 'You needed kissing. Badly, I would say,' she blushed. Looking at her, James almost groaned out loud. He longed to possess her, to take her there and then, in the car, with the snow setting on the windows, cocooning them against the night. 'I must go,' she said. Her body was burning too." My body is also — oh, how it burns — so we'll leave it for now, returning to the day when Violet yields to James her most prized possession.

What even the editor of the London Review of Books would have to acknowledge is an embarrassment of riches, two important novels have landed on the desk. They are In Her Own Image and Coming To Terms, the entire literary oeuvre to date of Anna Murdoch, the soon to be ex-wife of Rupert. These will be studied closely in the days ahead to determine whether one, or both, might prove to be a suitable successor to All For Love should we ever become weary of Rosie's purple prose.

WOULD anyone have any information to spare concerning a punch up involving six staff on the set of the BBC's eccentric TV station News 24 early on Monday night?

AND so to today's fascinating facts about the Week, the 10th Earl of Hardwicke (Joe to his friends), who has been recently suspended by the Conservatives in the House of Lords after revelations that he tried to sell two grams of the very finest cocaine to an undercover reporter from the News of the World. When Lord Hardwicke took his seat on the Tory benches five years ago, at the bidding of his cousin Lord Hesketh, he made a maiden speech about the funding needs of the British film industry. Such a success was this oration — "So you're the little twit who was banging on about tax breaks for film companies" — that he has not spoken a word in the Chamber since.

THE first contender for August's PC Brains is Richard Watling, a copper with the Muswell Hill Community Police Unit in north London, where truancy patrols are very much in vogue. As the man in charge, Police magazine reports, Sgt Watling shows great industry and no little discrimination. He recently stopped one obvious lesson-bunker on the street to ask, "Now then, young man, what school do you go to?" "I am not a young man," replied the truancy, "I am a lady. And I don't go to school because I'm 38."

## SPIRIT OF WAPPING



## It's a plot for an opera. Yesterday's snobs fight today's philistines

Hugo Young



THE Royal Opera House may be a long way from Middle England but its recent history is a metaphor for two British diseases. It mimics the nation past and, unless a better fate intervenes, the nation future. No one can be confident that yesterday's drastic remedy of closure will forestall the second overtake, the first, with dire results.

Covent Garden's afflictions are, unfortunately, emblematic of national conditions it is very hard to change. The first disease was a composite of snobbery and amateurism. At the opera, these survived the supposed abrasions of the Thatcher years, when they were meant to be routed from the land. For those unable to experience them at first hand, they're well chronicled in the Eyre Review, which reported on the state of things last June, as the old regime was ebbing its death throes.

The ROH board, said Eyre, had a history of inadequacy. The "strong social cachet" of being on the board had far too much to do with who got there. Membership "was seen as being an end to itself". The ruling oligarchy perpetuated itself without any proper inquiry into the professional expertise a new member would bring to the table. It presided over an infatuation with place, the velvet halls and gilded ceilings of the House, that depended in part on excluding people who might be the wrong sort.

Association with the ROH was an establishment perk. For decades, the secretary of the Cabinet had an ex-officio position, and promoted his favourite young Whitehall protégé to take the minutes of the meetings. It was a typically British arrangement, unchallenged, obviously corrupt. As resonant as the singing on the stage was

the corporate braying in the upstairs bar. Although the board had some selfless members, they were a milieu of patronage given and received. In the later stages, while Jeremy Isaacs was director, they oversaw executives whose financial management Eyre calls "reckless" and their plan for closure — while a new lottery-funded house is built — "incompetent".

Woven into this was the ROH's inability to master industrial relations. The unions became enemies of modernity, both as regards their own working conditions and by preventing access to this expensive, publicly-funded and elitist art-form through regular broadcasting. The new board is determined to change this. Yesterday was nemesis for the old opera world and those who helped perpetuate it. It was the end of one kind of British era.

This inaugurated, however, another era, which may exhibit a different set of disorders. They're more modern, more on-the-edge, cooler, in keeping with the new government. Snobbery is no more, and the man from EMI plc, Sir Colin Southgate, has taken over from the plumed and gaited Tory gentlemen who brought things to where they are today. But as to whether new means better, the case is not proven. In place of the defeated amateur, do we not see around us the zeitgeist of the politico-philistine?

Elitism is meant to be banished, but what takes its place? Corporate indulgence is scorned as fiercely as social exclusivity, yet opera does not fit easily into the programme of ministers who are the only people with the means to alter these deformities by the application of public money. The successor disease to Tory snobbery turns out to be New Labourish cul-

tural neglect, at least in an art-form that cannot readily be located as populist or commercial. Even if the personal tastes of ministers stretched eagerly to opera, which the evidence says they don't, their presiding fear is of offending the right-of-opinion of the people, as filtered through the anti-cultural bigotries of the tabloid press. Labour's new men on the board do not seem, at first sight, to be much better than what went before. Announcing their dramatic closure yesterday, and the pressures they were going to impose on the lower levels of artists and functionaries, they were like another brand of amateur, with figurings and predictions casually and erratically let loose. EMI may be the scene of modern cultural capitalism, but its boss has little taste for the kind of accountability involved in an adversarial press conference. There seems to be a fair amount of confusion about a new building which the millions of the labouring masses, through the lottery, made possible, yet which will be empty for 150 nights a year.

BUT the new team has grasped one essential point, and laid down the one challenge the Government must not welcome. It is about to say to ministers: OK, so you say opera is elitist, and remains so because only the elite can afford to go. Right, we will lower seat prices to meet your point. So are you prepared to take the consequences? When the Rose reopens in late 1999, will the public subsidy be increased to allow this to happen?

This puts ministers to the core question: how much do they value opera, as an artefact of high culture to which the entire cohesiveness of Middle and Lower as well as Upper England should be

allowed access? Let's assume the Southgate board, which will resign if it cannot fulfil its plan, is more gruffly businesslike than the first sight suggests, and produces an opera house that adds belated managerial élan to its fine artistic record, what then should prevent the Government of this rich, talent-filled, tourist-magnetising country from supporting the ROH with the modest sums that stand between it and a life of undistracted self-confidence?

France and Germany and Italy think nothing of it. Making high culture possible is, among our fraternal Europeans, a normal public task, recognised as such by a public that does not require or even desire it to be encompassed in elitist glamour. The two Paris opera houses get more than twice as much public money as their two London counterparts. Do we call ourselves less cultivated? Do Tony Blair and Gordon Brown deem us to be unwilling to pay, through taxes, for such pleasures? Is every extra cultural pound to be crushed under the facile argument that the nurses and the teachers, the waiting-lists and the classless, cannot be made to pay for it?

New arrangements for lottery dispersals, after the millennium has passed and the bloody Dome is built, already indicate this priority. Is opera a national asset? Is it a cultural treasure? Is it part of Britain's image of itself? Should it be more accessible? If so, is that a serious statement which ministers are willing to make, meaningful? Or a rapid aspiration, whose failure to come about leaves the ROH an easy whipping-post for philistines posing as righteous men of the people, moving against the elitism which they've missed the chance to break apart?

## He loves the killer cars

George Monbiot



JOHN Prescott came back from his holidays as chipper and combative as ever. Nothing, he insisted on Tuesday's Today programme, was standing in the way of his plans for Britain's transport. The Guardian's claim that the Queen's speech would not contain the policies recommended by his White Paper was mere rumour: the prime minister was right behind him.

He's the only person in Britain who seems to think so. Prescott's plans, timid as they are, have the potential to offend the two constituencies that Tony Blair is most afraid of: big business and Middle England. Even while the White Paper was being drafted, Blair's office sent Prescott a memo complaining that it was "too anti-car", and would alienate prosperous voters. Short of parliamentary anthrax, achieved the highest result ever recorded in the Ames Test, which measures the likelihood that a chemical will cause cancer. The second most carcinogenic compound ever found, 1,8-dinitropyrene, is also emitted by diesel engines. The leader of the research team linked his findings to the hitherto unexplained increase in lung cancer in urban areas.

There's been a similarly mysterious rise in the incidence of one of the most terrible diseases of modern times. Age-related macular degeneration (AMD), the breakdown of the cells at the back of the eye, leaves sufferers with only a sliver of vision. AMD has increased in Britain by 50 per cent in just 20 years and now accounts for half of all the British people who are registered blind.

The disease, which is incurable, is caused by a build-up of debris on the retina. It has been increasing in urban areas much faster than in the countryside, and the prime suspect, again, is traffic pollution. When, in years to come, the effects of traffic on public health are treated as seriously as tobacco smoke is treated today, when, blind or gasping, you want to sue the people who knew what they were doing to you but still refused to act, don't sue the motor manufacturers, the road hauliers, or even the oil barons, culpable as they all are. Sue Tony Blair.

He knows that being hit by a car is the commonest cause of death for children between the ages of one and 14, and that the reduction of road deaths to a mere 3,500 a year, and serious injuries, disability and disfigurement to an inconsequential 44,000 has been achieved by driving pedestrians and cyclists off the road. He knows that the effect of this is a staggering increase in levels of

obesity and unfitness, especially among children. Yet still he will not act. He might have heard about what benzene does to the human body and its connection with leukaemia. His constituents have doubtless complained to him about traffic noise: studies show that up to 10 per cent of the residents of congested areas suffer from stress at or approaching clinical levels. He may even have been told about the now-famous work conducted in San Francisco, demonstrating the links between traffic volume and social disconnectedness: the heavier the traffic on a particular street is, the researchers found, the fewer friends and acquaintances the residents have, and the greater their chances of contracting mental illness and heart disease. Yet still he will do nothing.

So let's see how he responds to a couple of effects he probably hasn't yet heard about, which, even if they were the only presumed impact of Britain's current transport policies, are so frightening and so grave that they would surely be argument enough for the most drastic and immediate deliverance.

Last year, scientists at Kyoto University in Japan made a horrifying discovery. They found that a compound emitted by a heavily-laden diesel engine, 3-nitrobenzanthrone, achieved the highest result ever recorded in the Ames Test, which measures the likelihood that a chemical will cause cancer. The second most carcinogenic compound ever found, 1,8-dinitropyrene, is also emitted by diesel engines. The leader of the research team linked his findings to the hitherto unexplained increase in lung cancer in urban areas.

There's been a similarly mysterious rise in the incidence of one of the most terri-

## One in every seven children wheeze with asthma, but Blair will not act

W HAT does it take to convince a prime minister who seems to listen only to the perpetrators of the nation's problems? Evidently, not the pledges that he and John Prescott made drastically to reduce Britain's contribution to global climate change. Not his Department of Health's own figures, which suggest that up to 24,000 people die every year from traffic pollution. Not the one to seven British children wheezing their little lungs out with asthma.

He knows that being hit by a car is the commonest cause of death for children between the ages of one and 14, and that the reduction of road deaths to a mere 3,500 a year, and serious injuries, disability and disfigurement to an inconsequential 44,000 has been achieved by driving pedestrians and cyclists off the road. He knows that the effect of this is a staggering increase in levels of

Many say Britain is tolerant of black people. But toleration is a word for things we don't like — loud noise, foul language, and dirty pavements

## White lies

Gary Younge



IN 1979 three applicants — one African-Caribbean, one white and one Asian — wrote off for the same jobs in Nottingham as part of an experiment conducted by the Race Equality Council. On paper they had the same qualifications, but their ethnicities were clear — either from names or personal details

on their CVs. The non-white candidates were half as likely to get through to the second stage of the application process as their white counterpart.

In 1993, a virtually identical test was conducted. The results were the same. Although the 14 years between the tests had seen the uprisings in Brixton and in most of England's major cities, the election of several black MPs and the appointment of a black anchor for News at Ten, only one thing had changed: many of the firms had included a message at the bottom of their adverts saying, "We are an equal opportunities employer."

"We came across a better bureaucracy of exclusion," said Alan Simpson, Labour MP for Nottingham South, who helped compile the results of both tests.

When it comes to race relations here, the gulf between perception and reality is as wide as ever. The American novelist Kurt Vonnegut wrote, "We are the sum of the things we pretend to be, so we must be careful what we pretend to be." The level of pretence concerning racism in Britain is quite staggering.

The common belief is that race relations are improving. Britons feel better about their multiracial and multicultural society than ever before: William Hague was more black faces in his party, Robin Cook wants more in the Foreign Office, Notting Hill carnival is mainstream; the Daily Mail targeted Stephen Lawrence's alleged killers. The rhetoric of inclusion, backed up by the appearance of so many black faces on television, in sport and

music, is overwhelming. Yet 80 per cent of 18- to 34-year-olds from ethnic minorities feel race relations have worsened in recent years, according to a report by Professor Muhammad Anwar of the University of Warwick's Centre for Research in Ethnic Elections, released yesterday.

## The belief is that our race relations are improving. The level of pretence about racism in Britain is quite staggering

So few people in Britain will admit to being prejudiced that British Social Attitudes has added to its survey the question, "Do you think your neighbours are prejudiced?" to see it out with some realism. It found that while 3 per

cent of people admit to being "very prejudiced" themselves, the number who think their neighbours are "very prejudiced" is double that. Someone, somewhere is lying.

The facts are more difficult to mask. The Labour Force survey of 1993 found 62 per cent of young black

men in London were unemployed. Four of the five boroughs with the highest concentration of black people are in the Top 10 most deprived districts in the country. Black boys are four times more likely to be excluded from school than

their white peers. Black people aged 16-24 are twice as likely to be unemployed as whites. Black people are more likely to be stopped, searched and imprisoned than whites. They receive longer sentences and are more likely to die in custody.

Add violence to this institutionalised discrimination and you have the racism that first killed Stephen Lawrence and then allowed the police to let his murderers walk free. That, for many black people, was the most painful illustration of how little has changed.

The £750,000 paid to Sam Yeboah following the years of systematic discrimination at the hands of Hackney's anti-racist council — an ostensibly flag-bearer — is just the most recent. Compared with the rest of Europe, where fas-

cist parties are making great strides, many are keen to point out that Britain is still a more tolerant country than many. That is true. But tolerance is a noun reserved for things people do not like. We tolerate loud noise, foul language and dirty pavements. If the best that can be said about Britain is that it tolerates black people, we are in bigger trouble than we thought.

In any case, black people have never asked to be liked. What they have demanded is equality; the right to be treated like everybody else before the law, in employment, housing, education and anywhere else they may find themselves. The right to survive and thrive in the country where most of them were born and others have chosen to settle.



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## Last aria at the opera?

The future is in its hands

IF YESTERDAY'S umpteenth rescue package for the Royal Opera House leads to the denouement of this embarrassing saga then everyone will rejoice. But such is the managerial incompetence that has dogged the ROH in recent years that few people will believe in a happy ending until they see it for themselves. A successful opera house ought to be the jewel in a vibrant cultural capital like London — with economic benefits being generated both for the city and the rest of the country. Covent Garden has somehow managed to maintain high artistic standards while completely failing to reform itself from within. During a period when Britain has been moving from exclusivity to inclusivity, from overmanaging to lean pay-rolls, from Spanish practices to flexible labour markets and from oversubsidisation towards market realities, Covent Garden has signalled it is different.

In important ways it is. It is starved of the fat public grants that opera houses in Milan and Munich take as their divine right. However, it has not been able to find a middle way between fair subsidies and the private capital that keeps the New York Met afloat. Most people accept that grand opera needs public subsidies — but these days they are no longer blank cheques. They must be balanced by matching efficiencies within the organisation. Even after receiving £78 million of lottery money to finance a refurbished building, the ROH was still demanding subsidies of £15 million that are

impossible to justify against the competing claims from smaller theatres and galleries up and down the country.

Earlier this year Sir Richard Eyre published a devastating report on the management of Covent Garden at all levels. He called for it to be closed and built up again from scratch if his proposals weren't implemented. Yesterday's plan contains the closure threat but do little to improve the quality of existing management which was heavily criticised. But it does at least represent a last-gasp attempt to change industrial relations. Sir Edward Downes, the ROH's principal conductor, has warned that the artistic excellence of the opera was built up over 50 years not five minutes. That is true — and as Andrew Clements reports today — the way the company maintained superlative standards while everything else was crashing around it was an astonishing tribute to their professionalism.

But it is also part of professionalism to move with the times. There is now no place for restrictive labour practices in an organisation struggling for survival and financed by the taxpayer. They must go as they have elsewhere (not least in the newspaper industry) and if staff must also be reduced that is sad but inevitable. It doesn't follow that there will be a drop in standards. Moving with the times also entails shedding exclusivity which the new management has yet to do, judging by chairman Sir Colin Southgate's remark that he wouldn't want to sit next to someone in the opera with a singlet and sweaty trainers. The ROH has for some years successfully beamed operas on to a big screen on Covent Garden's piazza. It could make much more use of digital technology to transmit live opera to the regions or overseas using the multiplicity of digital TV channels soon to be available. It must also sell cheaper tickets for the opera house

itself, so ordinary people can help to puncture its pomposity. Wisely, fresh subsidies will not be given until the ROH drags itself into the 20th century. Yesterday's decision to abandon ROH opera for a year is drastic. But it makes the threat to shut down for ever if change is not accepted a very real one. It is tragic that this has had to happen. But the ROH is the architect of its own misfortune. Its future is now in its own hands.

## Public pay

The lid must be lifted

IN OUR materialist society, by their salaries, bonuses and merit payments they shall know them. Thus we are taught what society makes of nurses (maximum payment for the main grade £14,500) and teachers (to get more than £22,000 they have, in a mad paradox, to do less teaching). Ah, say, hard-faced marketeers, that's non-market reality and (behind their hands) does it matter as long as young women are attracted to hospitals and higher education's also-rans can train as teachers for other people's children? Well even the marketeers have to see that recruitment has become an undrinkable problem. Not just quantitative, either. Schools have to have a bigger share of the limited number of good graduates and whatever else it takes, teaching will have to be better rewarded.

The Government sees it has a problem. Tony Blair's presence the other day at an "oscars for nurses" ceremony was not accidental. David Blunkett has been talking hundreds of millions "extra" for teachers' pay. But official pay philosophy for the public sector still seems to be that inherited from the Tory era: keep the lid on tight and

lift it only if there are productivity gains (i.e. fewer staff for any given pay bill) or as reward for "merit". Nursing consultants and super-teachers are not in themselves bad ideas. Nor is yesterday's wheeze of allowing health trusts more discretion in recognising good work by nurses, radiographers and other health workers. There are important reforms pending in various public service careers, especially in order to move good practitioners up the scale.

But this won't get Mr Blair off the hook of across-the-board pay increases in the public sector. Though some recent settlements have been held down relative to private sector earnings and why shouldn't it catch up? Tony Blair (and Gordon Brown for that matter) have resisted the idea that they are in power to re-equilibrate the sectors. But perceptions of public penury are among the reasons New Labour was elected. If the Government doesn't see that equity and good governance demand a less restrictive approach to public sector pay then it deserves an autumn of aggressive submissions to the pay review bodies such as the doctors' and a winter and spring coping with the results. That poll finding of continuing public faith in Labour as the party for better care of the health service should be reversed if those who deliver it are left angrily dissatisfied by the 1999 pay round.

## Beating racism

Progress is better than it seems

BRITAIN'S black MPs expressed dismay yesterday at the latest survey of ethnic minority opinion. They are being too gloomy. The survey shows young black people are far more pessimistic than white

people with respect to future British race relations. There is nothing surprising about that. A second generation of black people have much higher expectations than their immigrant parents. This is not a new finding but remains grounds for optimism, not pessimism. Young black people have a lot to protest against. Three forms of racial discrimination continue to persist in Britain: overt and intentional; disguised but deliberate; unintentional but adverse. All three need to be more openly confronted and resisted. An uncompromising younger generation is more likely to achieve this.

It is easy for older people to tick off genuine improvements in race relations over the last generation: the entry of black and Asian people into the professions, the black faces on television and in Parliament, the fact that young people from ethnic minorities are now more likely to continue their education beyond 16 than white people. Then there is last year's massive PSI study monitoring progress on integration: mixed partnerships are now so widespread that nearly half of "Caribbean" children have one white parent. But the same report also documented the glass ceiling barring ethnic minorities from top jobs. It also showed how complicated multiracial Britain had become — differences between ethnic minorities are now larger than the traditional black-white divide.

Where the black MPs are right to be depressed is with the growing disillusion of black and Asian people with one quarter not even registering to vote. It is crucial the political system reaches out to these communities. Labour deserves praise for its tougher laws on racially motivated offences but has still not done enough to promote prominent black people within the public service — or place them on the many task forces drawing up its reform programme.

## Letters to the Editor

### The Bastard got it right

MARK Steel's reaction to his new PC reminds me of the credulous heroine in a Mills and Boon novel, whose initial distrust and resentment of the arrogant stranger is all too soon to be transformed into a besotted adoration (E-mail mail, September 9). I know, it happened to me, and my old Amstrad is now relegated to the loft. Janet Mathew, Northwich, Cheshire.

FRANCIS Whelan wrote: "If the Liberal Democrats won't resist one of the most illiberal measures of modern times, what is their reason?" (The Weekly World, September 9). It would have been wonderful if a similar 41 per cent of the Parliamentary Labour Group voted against that Criminal Justice Bill. (When's World, September 9). It would have been wonderful if a similar 41 per cent of the Parliamentary Labour Group voted against that Criminal Justice Bill.

RE Michael Winner's letter (September 9): aficionados are accustomed to leave the band on for the composer, the reason that to remove it may risk damage to the wrapper (the high quality outer leaf). The band seems to have appeared in the 18th century to protect the white gloves of Spanish gentlemen so, perhaps, it is "intended" that it remain in place. In any case, it doesn't make a scrap of difference to the flavour whether the band is on or not. Bryan Banks, Bury, Lancs.

WOULD someone please show me the male Germaine Greer, Louise Bourgeois, Margaret Atwood, Ursula Le Guin, Maya Angelou, Patti Smith, Helen Chadwick, Jane Campion? Just because Elizabeth Wurtzel (Motherhood vs art, September 9) is ignorant about the careers of creative and public women does not mean that they do not exist. Kirsty Hall, Bristol.

RE Prof Galbraith's article (The rich drive by, September 9): during a most interesting performance of Shakespeare's King John at the Globe Theatre last Monday, the Bastard got it right with, "And being rich, my virtue then shall be. To say there is no vice, but beggerie." What's new? Jim Hynes, Wales Anti-Poverty Network.

NOTICE that none of your letters regarding the Murdoch takeover of Manchester United plc (September 8 & 9) actually came from people who live in Manchester. Graeme Burton, London.

Please include a full postal address, even on e-mailed letters. We may edit letters.

## No choice for poor pupils

THE headteacher of Manchester Grammar School argues (Sunk by a false ideal, Education, September 9) that comprehensive schools are not the answer and that we should go for more specialisation and choice in schools. The research evidence shows that areas with genuine comprehensive (ie schools which take the whole intake of an area and do not compete with grammar, city tech, grant-maintained and other specialised schools) do better than areas with mixtures of selective and non-selective schools.

The students lower down the scale of achievement do noticeably better and those at the top do a bit worse. The gains at the bottom substantially outweigh the loss at the top. It is not surprising that middle and higher-income groups who do best out of a selective system are enthusiastic for comprehensive — or move house, choose specific primary schools or use other methods to send their children to schools that are selective in intake, if not in name. Shins to "beholden" or "choice" will undoubtedly be popular with the groups who make the most noise. But they will damage average levels of achievement by reducing educational attainment among these groups who have most to gain from their schooling. Most successful countries

(France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Spain, Singapore and Japan) have moved to comprehensive schools. Peter Taylor-Cooby, Professor of Social Policy, University of Kent.

MARTIN Stephen cites teacher shortage as evidence of the failure of comprehensive education. He neglects the effect in depressing recruitment of the status accorded to the teaching profession and the remuneration at the top of the scale for classroom teachers. He neglects the effect of blanket denial of the achievements of state schools by politicians and the lack of acceptance of problems they face. In fact, parents, when asked, in the main have supported their children's schools. He seems to want to restructure secondary education by throwing out the trouble-makers, and dividing the rest at 14 between being "academic" or "vocational". — with the very bright sent to his school, presumably on a residential basis, and the rest to live in the world. Entry into the world is backward looking rather than "radical". I hope the Government, rightly concerned about social exclusion, will resist this idea. Entry into the world is strictly comprehensive. We have to learn to

live with and understand each other.

A well-managed, properly funded comprehensive school, supported by the local education authority and collaborating with its neighbours, can offer choice and diversity for its pupils within the school. Margaret Talloch, Campaign for State Education, London.

SIXTEEN-year-olds have had less than two weeks to reflect on the results of their efforts at GCSE, and no doubt many parents, like us, are still congratulating their children on what they have achieved. The vast majority of these young people are pupils in ordinary comprehensive schools, yet once again we read an attack on the comprehensive system. So there is "growing evidence that schools are failing pupils and parents". The steadily improving success rates at GCSE seem to suggest otherwise. If such indicators are false or unreliable, then perhaps the high master of Manchester Grammar School will decline to cite GCSE passes as a measure of his own school's success, and especially, as we are told, he only selects the "very highly gifted". Trevor Raymont, University of Reading.

## Why nurses don't have pound signs in their eyes

DISAGREE with Tony Blair's plan to create "super-nurses" (Unions wary of Blair's proposals on the future of nursing, September 9). At last we already have them and they are called chemotherapy ward sisters. These people admit between eight and 12 cancer patients daily, take blood tests from each to check for bone marrow damage from chemotherapy, assess other chemotherapy toxicities, assess response of the cancer to treatment, insert intravenous drips and finally administer the highly toxic (and highly expensive: some drugs cost more than £800 per dose) chemotherapy. They stay on duty beyond their allotted finishing time several times a week. E grade nurses earn £18,000 per annum including all bonuses and London weight-

ing. These people do not need fancy titles to be motivated since they clearly already are. The problem is that they simply don't earn enough to live in this city. No one should be mistaken: the nursing crisis is due to low pay. Dr Jeremy Steele, Oncology Registrar, London.

AS two specialist nurses with an aggregate experience of 18 years, we have the potential to become "nurse consultants". Are the pound signs glittering in our eyes? Are we looking forward to grand titles? Do we believe this government has finally benefited our profession? No. What is being overlooked, yet again, is the fact that the majority of nurses do not earn salaries commensurate with their skills or which reflect the value of their jobs. Nurses

is an unattractive proposition at a time when income means more than job satisfaction. Until the Government realises that recruitment and retention will continue to thwart the NHS, and ultimately, an ageing population whose need for nurses cannot be met. Jenny Hogan, Ward sister, London. Elspeth Finlay, Clinical nurse specialist, head and neck cancer, E Yorks.

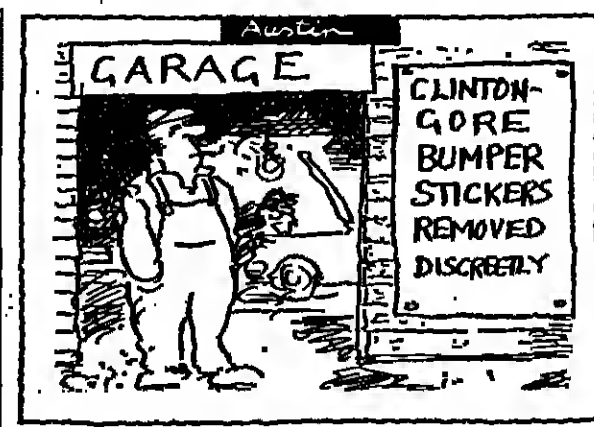
US employers have known since the industrial revolution that if they can divide their workforce, their war against decent pay levels is half won. That is exactly what will happen if the nursing profession is gullible enough to fall for it. John Plant, Walsall.

## Boadicea taught us to party

WRITES to protest against the recent self-righteous outpourings of shock and disgust in the face of the pious condemnation of the antics of our youth in such holiday hot-spots as Ibiza and Majorca, I say "Carry On Partying". Such loud, over-the-top and boisterous behaviour by the youth of this nation is hardly something new. In a fine British tradition that can be traced back to the day Queen Boadicea partook of one herbal broth too many, ripped off her clothes and invited the Romans to come and have a go if they thought they were hard

enough, these young British holidaymakers show a willingness to grab hold of life with both hands that is to be applauded, coupled with a healthy mistrust of authority and the establishment. Let us not put too much of a premium on the antics of the youth of today let us remember 1966 and the Rock Around The Clock Teddy Boy Riots. The Mods versus Rockers antics of 1964. The Sex Pistols outraging our moral guardians in 1977. One wonders how many of today's older statesmen once strutted down the Kings Road in their Rush Pimp-

ples and tonik suits glaring menacingly at anything in a leather jacket, or secretly read a well-thumbed copy of A Clockwork Orange in their bedroom before racing down stairs and giving their mother a terrible fright with the cry of "Viddy horrorskew, old baboonchial". We are the Kings of Europe, not the Vulcans. Let us reveal in that. What would they have us become? Belgians? No! A thousand times, no! Here's to our great British traditions: the bank holiday riot, the ples in Benidorm and sticking the rods up at our four-faced European cousins. Paul Bell, Sheffield.



## Energy Offer we should refuse

PAULINE Ashley and Peter Carter (Letters, September 9) are both employees of the regulatory body for electricity, Offer, whose prime duty it is to introduce competition. So it is hardly surprising that they staunchly defend this process. Peter Carter attributes the average real reduction of £36 in electricity bills to the market. But this reduction has everything to do with the activities of Offer in setting the price of the monopoly elements of the bill and nothing to do with competition. A recent report from Warwick University concluded that the benefits of privatisation and competition in utility services have gone to the rich, leaving the poor worse off. When the Labour Government, as it has promised, gets round to abolishing the consumer committees in favour of effective, independent consumer councils, and changing the prime duty of regulators to looking after the interests of consumers, I hope we can look forward to regulators taking their responsibilities to the weakest members of society more seriously. In California, after six

months of competition in electricity markets, less than 1 per cent of consumers have found it worth switching supplier and referenda in California and Massachusetts may derail the whole process of introducing competition. Steve Thomas, University of Sussex.

SO it will take up to 15 years for wind-powered renewable energy (Green energy ruled out as too costly, September 9). The New River, which brings drinking water into London from the Hertfordshire springs, was originally a private venture which ran into financial trouble, leaving the Crown to step in and meet 50 per cent of the costs. But the Crown involved was that of James I. The Tempest had its first performance while the New River was being built and the river has been providing drinking water for approaching 400 years. It would now surely be seen as short-sighted had it not been built because it would have taken up to 15 years to cover its costs. Adrian Betham, RIBA, London.

## Lip stick

TO what distant era is Clare Boylan referring when she describes powder as always "pink and chalky" and lipstick as "blood-red and viscous" (Lady in red, G2, September 7)? After the war and into the middle-fifties I was an advertising copy-writer working forward to regulators taking their responsibilities to the weakest members of society more seriously. In California, after six

## Price is right

IF the compensation to Mr Yeboah reflects his actual losses, past and future, and other injuries suffered, then three-quarters of a million pounds is just and fair. Hackney Council should rightly pay up. This also reflects the way any other civil court would award damages. Your comparison with payments by the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board (Leader, September 9) is not comparing "like with like". If compensation by the board is too low and unfair, this needs to be addressed, rather than implying that awards for damages by the courts are too high. Society has started to recognise, for the first time, the serious damage to individuals and groups as a result of unlawful discrimination and to compensate them properly. Do not attach this step forward for one disadvantaged group by comparison with the treatment of others, who are also treated unfairly. We do not need equality of misery, but justice for all. Paul Crofts, Discrimination Law Association, Wellingborough, Northants.

## Global economy is chipping away at national sovereignty

WILLIAM Hague believes the UK can and should control its own economy "as it always has in the past". The problem is that globalised economies are not only a development of the industrial society, they herald our move into the new computer society. Computers are already key to the manipulation of global markets, where 10 seconds can determine the margin between profit and loss. The revolution began with micro-computer networks 10 years ago. But Mr Hague believes our monetary structures need not change for at least another 10 years.

Global markets displace people to increase financial profit. Democratic nations are designed to channel economic benefits to their people. The European solution is to peer compete with the rest of the world to adopt the same currency and a common social charter. The common currency is a monetary discipline required to counter world speculation. The social charter brings a level playing field to competing nations, while creating the space to achieve the wider objective of social profits. The alternative policy of rejecting the social charter and lowering wages to gain a competitive edge would inevitably spiral downward to a dangerously divided society, with a two-tier health service... and education and housing. Bernard Ready, West Mersea, Essex.

WILLIAM Hague may appear to be a plodder. Yorkshireman, but in fact he's a genius. The problem facing No campaigns in referenda has always been that their stance seems so, well, negative. Hague solves this by ensuring that to say No to EMU, Conservatives have to vote Yes in the referendum. Mark Davis, London.

## I.Q. of 145 and Can't Remember?

A FAMOUS international publisher reports that there is a simple technique for acquiring a powerful memory which can pay you real dividends in both business and social advancement. It works like magic to give you added poise, self-confidence and greater popularity.

The details of this method are described in his fascinating booklet, "Adventures in Memory", sent free on request. According to this publisher, many people do not realise how much they can influence others simply by remembering accurately everything they see, hear or read. Whether in business, at social functions, or even in casual conversation with new acquaintances, there are ways in which you can dominate each situation simply by your ability to remember.

For example, you need never forget another appointment — ever! You can learn names, faces, facts, figures and foreign languages faster than you ever thought possible. Whole books and plays can be indelibly imprinted on your memory after a single reading. You could be more successful in your studies and examinations. At parties and dinners you may never again be at a loss for appropriate words or entertaining stories. In fact, you could be more poised and self-confi-



Forget facts, figures?

dent in everything you say and do. These are only a few of the ways in which you will benefit by possessing a trained memory. To acquaint all readers with the easy-to-follow rules for developing skill in remembering, we, the publishers, have printed full details of this interesting self-training method in a fascinating booklet, "Adventures in Memory", sent free on request. No obligation. No salesman will call. Just telephone 0800 236 7070 free or fill in and return the coupon on Page 22 (no stamp is needed). Or write to: Memory and Concentration Studies, (Dept. MGM287), FREEPOST 198, Manchester, M60 8DL.



Bishop Robert Bell

# Spirit of the Windrush

**B**ISHOP Robert Bell, who has died aged 86, was the first of his generation to lead the Church of God in Christ (COGIC) for 25 years one of the founding fathers of black-led pentecostalism in Britain.

Founded in the United States in 1895, the denomination has been pre-eminent among black communities throughout America and the Caribbean. Through the vision and enduring leadership of Bishop Bell, the church occupies a similar position among all generations of the black community here.

One of 13 children born into a farming family in Westmoreland, Jamaica, Robert Bell ran a grocery store until, at the age of 25, he was converted at a City Mission street meeting. After marrying a local seamstress, Mavis (Mae) Juanita Rayson, he began a lifelong devotion to family and church that never faltered.

Finding it increasingly difficult to support his wife and three young children in Jamaica, he joined the first wave of migrants to this country in the early 1950s, settling in London's East End, where he remained for the rest of his life. The now-familiar Windrush story of high expectations and harsh reality that most Caribbean migrants encountered was his experience too, but he determined to rise above it. He worked for British Rail until retirement.

Unable to find an equivalent City Mission in London, Bell heard of a small group who worshipped at the Hackney home of Pastor and author McClachlan. The McClachlans were COGIC members from Jamaica and their house in Newarino Road provided a spiritual home for men and women like Bell.

In 1953, when thousands from every Caribbean island were arriving in an increasingly hostile Britain, the McClachlans returned to



He appeared the sternest of father figures, reserving a particular disdain for the relaxed attitude to punctuality common among his flock

Jamaica and Bell was appointed COGIC bishop. He enthusiastically set about the task of building a church equal to the needs of this growing community.

His uncompromising theology and formidable preaching style commanded complete respect. Public figures with popular appeal are often

trivially described as "men of the people" but Bishop Bell was truly one of his people: he came from the same background as his congregation, lived in the same place, worked all week on the railways, and was revered for his unique gift of combining spiritual authority with personal humility. He never turned away anyone who came to him for help and, together

with Mae, kept open house for all.

He appeared the sternest of father figures, reserving a particular disdain for the relaxed attitude to punctuality common among his flock (he once famously gave a bride a public rebuke for being an hour late for her wedding). His strict countenance, however, was deceptive. He was known for his ready sense of humour and his unlikely prowess in the kitchen — most Sundays would find him cooking vast quantities of chicken or lamb for friends and family, as if he had no other duties to occupy the day.

Bishop Bell was deeply loved, especially by those he occasionally scolded. He intimidated no one and it was moving to watch children gravitate to him after a service. With the rapid growth of the denomination and the establishment of COGIC churches throughout the country, his time was increas-

ingly taken up with travel and administration but, where others might have relished the headship of an ecclesiastical empire, he chose the path of true servanthood.

Many of the honours and awards he received were so discreetly accepted that some senior members of the church were unaware they had been given, until after his passing. It was not in his nature to assume self-importance.

If the importance attached to spiritual leaders is measured by the way they live their lives, then by his works we have certainly known Bishop Bell to be a true Christian.

He is survived by his Mae (Mother Bell), their two daughters and son and their families.

**Mr. Broughton**  
Robert Clifford Bell, priest, born December 23, 1911; died September 1, 1998

John Taylor

## Grand design for the times

**J**OHAN Taylor, who has died aged 69, belonged to that generation of English architects who trained as modernists but whose careers collided with the new movement towards post-modernism and conservation.

Born in Liverpool into a military family, and educated at Stowe School, where he became interested in modern design, Taylor took an MA in architecture at Trinity College, Cambridge, and then went on to complete his studies at the Architectural Association in London.

In the early 1950s the AA school was still digesting its post-war boom in student numbers and, under its left-wing principal Robert Curjel, had become a hot-bed of radical modern politics. Taylor passed unscathed through this intellectual minefield and graduated in 1951 into the London of post-war reconstruction — a period, it was predicted by the then president of the Royal Institute of British Architects, that would provide enough work for architects to last for 50 years.

Though he may have doubted this at times, Taylor went on to learn his trade as an assistant in a busy London office before setting up in practice for himself in 1959. His colleagues in this venture were a Cambridge contemporary, Robert Chapman, and Jane Durham, a graduate of the Bartlett School at University College London.

Working out of a single room in Notting Hill, their firm, Chapman Taylor Partners, was destined over the next 30 years to become one of the largest firms of architects in the country under the same triumvirate, with 35 partners and associates, over 600 employees and five London offices.

A good part of the massive growth of Chapman Taylor derived from John Taylor's legendary capabilities. He was an energetic and practical designer, given to locking his horns with authority over irrelevant principles. From the very first the firm was omnivorous, and in those unlitigious years was able to attract much larger jobs than would be open to a small practice today.

In the early 1960s the firm was commissioned to design the huge Eldon Square shopping centre in Newcastle, a task which, in the spirit of the times, involved demolishing a fine 18th-century square. At the same time the firm designed the uncompromisingly modern 22-storey New Scotland Yard tower in the Broadway in Westminster, and its near neighbour Carlton House.

Taylor's role as active designing partner in the firm involved him in the creation of many other large and well-known developments. While the since overhauled New Scotland Yard must be considered the apogee of his career as a modernist, the reconstruction of the 27-acre bomb-damaged Millbank Estate, which began in 1971, showed his stylistic adaptability and his practical urban planning skills. He initially applied for planning permission with a modern scheme for the area west of the Tate Gallery flanked by

Grosvenor Road and Vauxhall Bridge Road, but this was criticised by the Royal Fine Art Commission and rejected by Westminster City Council. Undeterred Taylor threw himself instead into a project based entirely on the late Georgian and early Victorian vocabulary of Thomas Cubitt, the original developer of the area. The result, now known as Bessborough Gardens, achieved all that modern conservation considers desirable. It provided a traffic-free plan with terraced, four-storey, white-painted stucco facades, columned porches and reproduction railings laid out along streets and around a garden square in the manner of a development of grand houses.

It was during the 1980s that Chapman Taylor achieved its greatest growth. The firm developed a high reputation for the sympathetic enlargement and refurbishment of important historic buildings, such as the London Pavilion at Piccadilly Circus, and at the same time increased its retail expertise by



Taylor... energetic

branching out into the design of big out-of-town shopping centres including Lakeside, Thurrock, and Meadowhall, Sheffield.

At the same time Taylor himself demonstrated his design versatility by mastering post-modern design. Lansdowne House in Berkeley Square and Priory Court in the City are the best known examples of this later work.

As an architect he prided himself on commercial virtues, completing projects on time and within budget. He made no apology for his eclectic approach to the wide variety of office, retail, leisure, residential and town planning commissions the firm undertook, pointing to the string of Civic Trust, Town Planning Institute and Europa Nostra awards it had received.

A man of strong will and determined self-organisation, John Taylor built four houses for himself and arranged his life so as to spend time in his London home in Belgrave; his restored crofter's cottage in the Western Isles; his house in New South Wales, where he spent two months every winter, and his best-known dwelling, the mock castle at Ruthin in North Wales overlooking the Clwyd Valley.

He is survived by his second wife and the two children of his first marriage.

**Martin Pawley**  
John Taylor, architect, born 26 December, 1928; died 7 August, 1998

Penny Edwards

## Meanwhile, back at the ranch...

**T**HE LEGION of Roy Rogers fans who mourned the cowboy star's recent death will remember the pretty, blonde actress who played his sweetheart in half-a-dozen quickie westerns in 1950 and 1951. Penny Edwards, who has died aged 69, had the rather thankless role of the girl who waited patiently for Roy and Trigger, his beloved horse, to return to the ranch or one-horse town after riding the territory of baddies. However, she was refreshingly spunky, and almost always got to sing a number or two with the hero.

Born Millicent Edwards (but called Penny because her name ended in "cent"), she was trained to sing and dance as a child and made her Broadway debut in *Let's Face It* (1941) at the age of 12. More shows followed, including *The Ziegfeld Follies* (1943), before she was offered a contract by Warner Bros Studios. After two small parts, Edwards was one of the four leads in *Two Guys from Texas* (1949) starring the popular song-and-dance team of Dennis Morgan and Jack Carson. While Dorothy Malone was paired off with Morgan, Edwards got Carson, with whom she happily sang the number *I Don't Care If It Rains All Night*. In the same



Western sweetheart... Penny Edwards with Jack Carson in Two Guys from Texas

KOBAL COLLECTION

Century Fox. In *Pony Soldier* (1952), she was given a rough time as a white captive of Red Indians rescued by Canadian Mountie Tyrone Power; and in *Powder River* (1953), she was the goody-goody girl as debutante actress Corinne Calvert, both of them after Roy Calhoun. However, she made little impression and left the movies for four years,

during which she devoted much of her time to the Seventh Day Adventists, which she joined in 1954, and rearing her son and two daughters. In fact one of her daughters, Deborah Winters, became an actress (*Class of '44*), and was as precocious as she, marrying at 14.

In 1957, Edwards made two further films, both westerns: she was the least ruthless of the four outlaw sisters in *The Dalton Girls*, and a dance hall girl in *Ride a Violent Mile*. In between her religious work, she remained very active on TV in western series such as *Wagon Train* and *Ben Hur*, as well as in commercials, for which she became known as "Miss Palmolive". In 1987, now twice divorced,

Penny Edwards returned to the big screen in *Lady Beare*, a sleazy thriller a world away from the squeaky-clean Roy Rogers westerns of fond memory.

**Ronald Bergen**  
Penny Edwards, actress, born August 24, 1929; died August 26, 1998

Iva Ligabue

## A voice like gold

**F**OR the few years she was at the top of her profession the soprano Iva Ligabue, who has died aged 66, ravished every sense. A comely Italian, with wide, dark-brown eyes and a golden voice, she was ideal casting for Alice Ford in Verdi's *Falstaff*, with which she burst on to the British operatic scene at Glyndebourne in 1958, teasing and taunting the fat knight of Geraint Evans and singing with that rounded, burnished tone that became her trademark. The following season she added Mozart's *Figaro* to her Glyndebourne repertoire and in 1960 she Donna Elvira, another role in which she was unsurpassed.

In 1962, when Covent Garden staged *Don Giovanni* in Zeffirelli's evocative production, Ligabue was the obvious

choice for Elvira, and in 1963, also in a Zeffirelli staging, she was Alice, again opposite Evans. She received uninhibited plaudits from press and public and for her Countess Almaviva in *Figaro*; yet these were her last appearances in this country, though she continued a successful career in Italy for another dozen years.

Ligabue, who came from Reggio Emilia, trained at the Verdi Academy at Milan with the famed teacher Campogiolino, and then at the School of La Scala, where she made her debut in 1953, aged only 21, as Marina in Wolf-Ferrari's *Il cavaliere russo*. Engagements soon followed throughout Italy.

Then in 1961 she returned to La Scala to achieve success in Bellini's rarely heard *Beatrice di Tenda*. The same year she

was acclaimed in her US debut, at the Chicago Lyric Opera, singing Margherita in Bolto's *Meftastefle*, opposite Christoff in the title part, for which, a contemporary critic commented, Ligabue received more applause than even Calas or Tebaldi.

In New York she sang the name role in Donizetti's *Maria di Rohan* for the American Opera Society in 1963, year of her debut at the Vienna State Opera. Among her other roles, Desdemona and Mimì were accounted her best, her touching acting seconding her appealing presence. Her art is preserved, appropriately enough, as Alice in Solit's recording of *Falstaff*.

Although her career was short, those who saw and heard her will always remember the liveliness of her characterisations and the aplomb of her singing. She represented the very best of an Italian style, outgoing yet disciplined, that is in danger of being lost.

She was married to the baritone Paolo Pedroni.



Ligabue... burnished tone

acquisitions and the aplomb of her singing. She represented the very best of an Italian style, outgoing yet disciplined, that is in danger of being lost.

She was married to the baritone Paolo Pedroni.

**Alan Rhyth**  
Iva Ligabue, soprano, born May 23, 1932; died August 22, 1998

### CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

IN AN ARTICLE in Society, Page 2, September 2, we said: "The Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists spent centuries wrestling control of childbirth from midwives..." Centuries was a slight exaggeration. The College was founded in 1929.

IN SOCIETY, page 2, yesterday, a headline asked, "Was John Gummer off his trolley when he okayed plans for a Tesco supermarket in historic Ludlow?" The answer is no. The headline should have referred to John Prescott.

AN ARTICLE about cars of the stars, G2, Pages 14 and 15, September 7, contained a couple of slips. Sean Connery's James Bond drove an Aston Martin DB5, not a DB6 (al-

though they do look similar). Later Bonds drove a DB5 and a 1987 version of the Vantage.

Share prices: Due to systems problems some prices quoted recently on the prices page in Finance Guardian have been garbled. We apologise for the inconvenience this has caused.

It is the policy of the Guardian to correct errors as soon as possible. Please quote date and page number. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor by telephoning 0171 233 9288 between 11am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Surface mail to Readers' Editor, The Guardian, 119, Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER. Fax: 0171 233 9897. E-mail: readers@guardian.co.uk

### A Country Diary

FOYERS: On the side of Loch Ness the dilapidated doocot was still impressive although the top of the roof had caved in and the structure was in disrepair. I could visualise the flight of doves — pigeons — to and from their nests inside, the white eggs and the young birds called pouters (squares in England) which were used for a pie that for many years was a national dish in Scotland. The octagonal walls were intact, as were the wooden entrance holes, although all of the seats were at an angle. For its size the structure was remarkably low, and the bell-shaped holes about two feet high at the bottom of each wall were a mystery until I realised that the lower part of the doocot had been a chicken house and

these were the entrance holes for the birds. Dual purpose doocots are unusual in the Highlands, although one at Grangehall in Moray was used as a pigery and one on Stromas, off the north Caithness coast, was used as a horial vault. At Foyers, nearby farm buildings of similar architecture had the date 1865 over an archway, so this might have also been applied to the doocot, as such octagonal structures in the Highlands date from 1800. I could not enter the doocot because of its dangerous condition, but while I was examining the outside walls I suddenly heard something inside and stood back in anticipation: the single sheep that dashed out nearly bowled me over.

RAY COLLIER

### Birthdays

Thomas Allen, operatic baritone, 54; Dr Sarah Cookley, rheumatologist, 47; Bambi Cole, children's writer, 45; Diana Colegate, novelist, 67; Beryl Cook, painter, 72; Brian Donohoe, Labour MP, 50; Ted Edgar, show jumper, 60; John Entwistle, rock guitarist, 54; Collin Firth, actor, 35; Judy Geeson, actress, 58; Prof Charles Vallier Herbert Gilles, authority on tropical medicine, 77; Christopher Hogwood, harpachordist, 57; Lord Nolan, former arbiter of standards in public life, 70; Arnold Palmer, golfer, 65; Denis Richards, air historian, 88; Dame Betty Ridley, former Church Commissioner, 82; Brian Smith, chairman, BAA, 70; Robert Wise, film director and producer, 84; Fay Wray, actress, 90.

### Death Notices

FRANKLIN, Ted, musician, scholar and poet, died peacefully on Monday, September 8, surrounded by his family. Funeral on Tuesday September 15, 10am, at St Mary's Church, 120 St Mary's Lane, London, NW10 7JL. Burial at Eton College Cemetery at High Road, East Windsor, Berkshire. Ted was a devoted husband and a loving father and grandfather. He will be missed by all who knew him.

### Births

SLYCE, On 24th August to Tarnya (nee Joy) and John, a daughter, Lara Cathie.

WTO place your announcement telephone 0171 733 4887 or fax 0171 733 4707 between 9am and 5pm Mon-Fri.

The Guardian Travel Shop

## The Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao

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The new Guggenheim Museum, designed by Frank Gehry, looks set to be one of the most important buildings of the 20th century. Its titanium-clad shell unfurling like a sequence of waves. Inside it boasts a 160-foot atrium and a world-class modern collection with the likes of Picasso, Pollock and Andy Warhol represented.

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The Guardian



# Analysis The regions

In the North and in South Wales, it's factory closures and dole queues, once again. But special help for the regions has been on the go since the 1930s. Does it ever work? **Peter Hetherington** says there have been some successes but England's poorest region, the North East, looks like getting poorer

## Tell me the old, old story

**B**RIITAIN'S old manufacturing areas are littered with the remains of industrial failure. Once it was Linwood (cars), Ravenscraig and Teesside (steel). But now the skeletons are high technology plants in Dunfermline, Newport, North Tyneside and Newton Aycliffe. They testify to a worthy but sometimes disastrous regional policy — a bottomless pit down which public money has been poured to support ventures that were rarely going to make it. It's fifteen months since the Blair government took office and an old story seems as if it is being repeated. In the North East, Fujitsu and Siemens semiconductor plants are closing. A yet-to-open Hyundai plant in Scotland is under threat, together with another vulnerable Soviet Korean venture in South Wales, not to mention thousands of threatened textile redundancies in the north. They herald a deepening recession induced by the Asian economic crisis and the strength of the pound. At the point of the closures as further evidence of failed regional policy directing billions over the years to overseas companies which invariably pull the plug on their British branch factories at the first hint of trouble.

Things are actually more complex. Regional policy deserves a fairer hearing. There have, it's true, been spectacular failures — none more so than the disastrous De Lorean car venture in West Belfast. But regional selective assistance (as development aid became known) in the "assisted areas" of the North East, South Wales, central Scotland and Northern Ireland can also claim stunning successes. So perhaps it ought: it has cost around £35,000 per job created. It's also true that companies encouraged (or, at one time, directed) to invest in the regions have been cutting and running for quite some time. The 1970s when the (British) Courtaulds textile group shut down a string of new plants after receiving generous grants. Questions were asked a decade later about why hundreds of millions were lavished on so-called capital

intensive projects such as British Steel's plant on Teesside or the Sullom Voe oil terminal in Shetland to bring them on stream only to force redundancies. Regional assistance, after all, should be labour intensive.

The state has been grappling with bridging the deep economic divisions in Britain — what is simplistically called the north-south divide — for at least 70 years. Invariably it has thrown money at the problem. In the late 1930s, with dole queues lengthening, ministers hit upon the first bright idea: if work wouldn't come to the unemployed, why not move them to the work. The unsuccessful plan, revived in cruder form by Norman Tebbit in his "on yer bike" speech to the 1981 Tory Party conference, was re-floated earlier this week by David Blunkett, the Education and Employment Secretary. His idea seems to be to force councils and housing associations to make houses available to people in search of work — there are around 80,000 empty council properties in the country. Unfortunately most are where no one wants to live.

Regional policy took off in the 1930s, with legislation intended to bring jobs to depressed regions known as "special areas". Industrial estates in Gateshead, outside Glasgow and elsewhere, were built to plug the hole left by the collapse of traditional industries. Today, those estates, like Gateshead's Team Valley still provide a model of sensitive planning — wide, landscaped boulevards, art deco buildings and all — although they have diversified into services.

After post war reconstruction, the issue crept on to the official agenda again in the early 1980s. Against a background of pit closures Tory Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, recalling his experiences in Stockton during the depression, directed companies to Scotland, Wales and Merseyside. Steelmakers were given grants to build strip mills at Ravenscraig and Linwood. They were meant to become new industrial heartlands with car companies (the old Rootes group bringing the ill-fated Imp to Linwood, near Glasgow) providing custom down the line. The process intensified during Harold Wil-

son's white-hot technological revolution. Firms in the manufacturing centre of the West Midlands found it hard to expand. Expansion required special industrial development certificates from the Board of Trade. They were invariably only granted for expansion in the depressed regions of Scotland, Wales and the North. But relocated firms started feeling the pinch and eventually closing down (sometimes because of poor products, viz the Hillman Imp). Rootes exited from Linwood, British Leyland from Bathgate and Merseyside. Critics began crowding hundreds of billions had been wasted throwing money at a problem and the market was simply being distorted, they argued. By the time Margaret Thatcher came to No 10 in 1979, her monetarist guru (and industry secretary), the late Sir Keith Joseph, wanted to scrap regional aid altogether — only to face a strong rearguard action from the then Scottish Secretary George (now Lord) Younger.

**T**ODAY, reading the lurid headlines of plant closures and abandoned complexes, you might imagine that the old arguments about regional policy are here again. Here in South Korea, industrial giant Hyundai, recently merged with competitor Lucky Gold Star, having spent £250 million on the first phase of an electronics factory at Dunsford, showing no sign of occupying it. The Government spent £14 million subsidising the project, with a further £5 million going on roads and infrastructure. Exaggerating though this is, it does need to be seen in perspective. In many respects Scotland represents a triumph of a regional policy designed not only to create jobs but also to improve prosperity. Wales too. North of the border, foreign-owned firms account for almost 30 per cent of manufacturing employment, providing almost 22,000 jobs. American companies account for half. The Japanese, though valuable, are way down the line. Old established companies such as IBM at Greenock (1961) and Motorola at East Kilbride (1961) are an

### 1 Scotland

Local Enterprise Board (1993-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 27,300  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 7,668 10,018  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 6.7 6.1

### 2 N Ireland

Regional Development Board (1993-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 2,700  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 7,056 8,396  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 8.1 8.4

### 3 North East

Northern Development Company (1993-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 1,300  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 6,802 7,800  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 12.0 12.0

### 4 North West

INWARD (1997-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 2,017  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 7,800 8,025  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 11.2 11.2

### 5 Yorkshire and Humberside

Yorkshire and Humberside Development Agency (1993-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 1,800  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 7,800 8,025  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 11.2 11.2

### 6 East Midlands

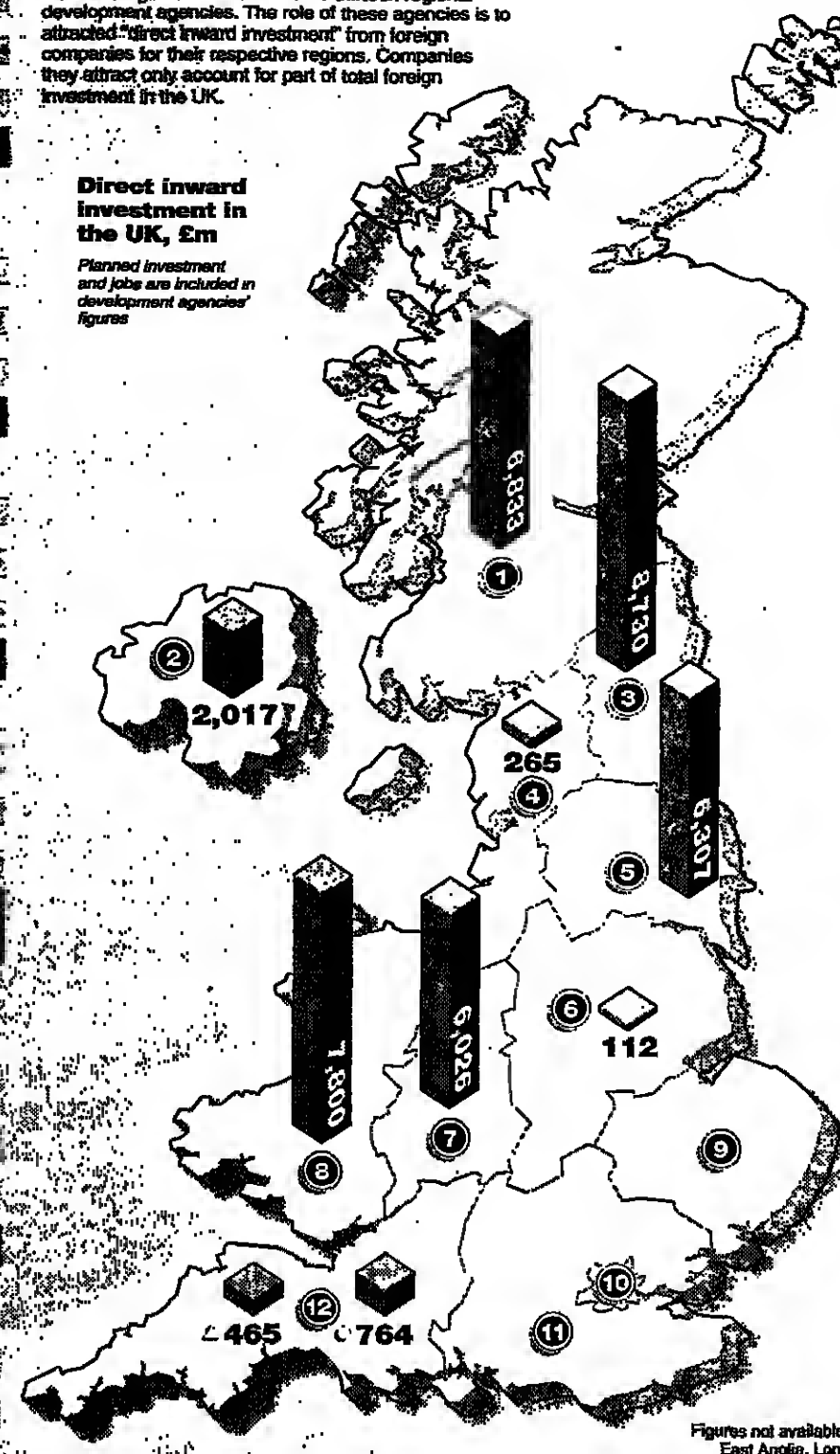
East Midlands Development Company (1993-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 1,465  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 7,761 10,143  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 5.9 6.2

## Take cover, inward incoming

Invest in Britain Bureau — part of the DTI — is the umbrella organisation for the UK's thirteen regional development agencies. The role of these agencies is to attract "direct inward investment" from foreign companies for their respective regions. Companies they attract only account for part of total foreign investment in the UK.

### Direct inward investment in the UK, £m

Planned investment and jobs are included in development agencies' figures



Figures not available for East Anglia, London and the South East

### 7 West Midlands

West Midlands Development Company (1993-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 74,945  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 7,668 10,018  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 6.7 6.1

### 8 Wales

Welsh Development Board (1990-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 72,300  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 7,056 8,396  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 8.1 8.4

### 9 East Anglia

East of England Investment Agency (1997-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 623  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 8,025 11,088  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 4.8 6.8

### 10 London

London First (1994-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 10,000  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 10,177 13,210  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 6.7 6.1

### 11 South East

South East Regional Investment Ltd (1997-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 11,000  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 9,162 12,268  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 4.2 6.2

### 12 South West

Devon & Cornwall Development International (1990-98)  
West of England Development Agency (1995-98)  
New & safeguarded jobs: 4,833  
1990 1996  
GDP per head, £ 7,761 10,143  
1990 1997  
Unemployment, % 5.9 6.2

public spending level per head is much lower than Scotland's but higher than the North East's moreover wages in the new industries are often lower than in the coal and steel industries they replaced. But economic transformation in the coastal area and in North Wales has been significant. It is now however in trouble, deeper than Scotland.

**L**UCKY Goldstar of South Korea was hailed as the biggest overseas investor in Britain when it offered nearly £2 billion investment in two Newport factories, one making monitors, the other semi-conductors. While the former employs over 1,000 people, the latter has yet to get off the ground. The Welsh Office has lavished an estimated £250 million on the project, according to Kevin Morgan, professor of European regional development at the University of Wales in Cardiff — distort-

ing the entire Welsh budget in the process. And 1,000 workers face an uncertain future.

In retrospect he says it is far too easy for overseas firms such as Siemens or Fujitsu to pull out of Britain and that is because successive governments attach so few strings to aid. When the crunch comes they have little bargaining power. "We play this pro-market view of a business friendly environment but at the end of the day people do not respect you if you have no bargaining chips," Morgan says.

And the North East knows all about chips. Faced with 1,000 jobs going to Siemens and Fujitsu, ministers have raised barely a whimper of protest. The German company, which has been producing semi-conductor chips for barely a year, got £20 million in aid. Fujitsu, eight years older, probably received around £20 million. Because Fujitsu has apparently fulfilled all its obligations to the government, one of that cash will return.

Siemens has promised to repay some. With a Lucky Goldstar factory in the North East making microwave ovens for an uncertain market and another Korean concern, Samsung, struggling to make printed circuit boards, more job losses are looming. "Some companies are hanging on by their finger nails," says one regional executive.

Unlike Scotland and Wales the North East has no voice in the Cabinet. Its only salvation, it seems, lies in the creation of a new regional development agency (RDA). This is one of nine being established by Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott, the aim to even out regional prosperity. There are problems aplenty. Decisions on selective assistance in the English regions (unlike in Scotland and Wales) will still be made by the central government.

At the end of the day, according to Keith Burge who heads a Newcastle economic consultancy, the North East

confronts a structural difficulty which New Labour is unlikely to address, however many of its leading lights are local MPs. "The South East economy is seemingly sailing full speed ahead. Part of the current difficulty is that with decision-making in London the decision makers such as the Bank of England Monetary Policy Committee see only what is happening around them and base policy on that. In picking up messages of house shortages, they imagine the country is like that — whereas provincial England is really suffering."

Graphics sources: Department of Trade and Industry; Invest in Britain Bureau; regional development agencies; Regional Trends 1994-98. Office for National Statistics. Graphics: Finbar Sheehy. Research: Matthew Keating. Peter Hetherington is the Guardian's regional affairs correspondent

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# FinanceGuardian

Brown to chair talks in Tokyo as fears of global growth crisis grow

## Japan cuts interest rates

Larry Elliott and  
Jonathan Watts in Tokyo

**J**APAN'S central bank yesterday cut interest rates to a record low in an effort to prevent the country from sliding into a deflationary slump as fears grow internationally that the crisis to the world's second largest economy could seriously damage global growth prospects.

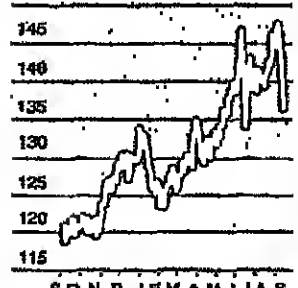
The Chancellor, Gordon Brown, will fly to Tokyo next week as the chairman of the Group of Seven for a whistle-stop series of top-level meetings with Japan's economic policy establishment.

With the Treasury seeing Japan's problems as a far higher threat than Russia, Mr Brown warned: "At a time of difficulty and uncertainty in the world economy the leading industrial nations must remain vigilant."

A handful of analysts were speculating that Japan's easing of monetary policy might herald the start of a co-ordinated and concerted cut in global interest rates. Most were predicting, however, that the Bank of England would announce no change to UK rates today and that America's Federal Reserve would do the same at its meeting later this month.

The unexpected move by the Bank of Japan — its first change in three years — sent the Japanese currency into a nosedive on the foreign exchange markets, erasing most of the recent gains. Within hours of the announcement the yen weakened to 137 to the dollar, having earlier hit a four-month-high of 130.

### Yen against the dollar



The authorities are becoming increasingly concerned at the failure of the economy to respond to a series of fiscal packages. Growth figures for the second quarter of this year, due out tomorrow, are expected to show a sharp annualised contraction in activity of up to 8 per cent.

To stimulate activity, the policy board of the Bank of Japan voted to reduce the target rate for overnight loans between banks to a record-low of 0.25 per cent, down from just under half a per cent. The discount rate remains unchanged at 0.5 per cent.

"The Bank of Japan decided it was appropriate to ease monetary policy in this way in order to ensure that the economy doesn't worsen further and to prevent the economy from falling into a deflationary spiral," said Masaru Hayami, the bank's governor. Economic data released yesterday indicated that fears of such a spiral — in which falling profits lead to lower investment and employment — are well founded.

In the three months to June, corporate profits fell by 34 per cent from the previous year and capital investment declined by 10.6 per cent. A survey of business sentiment by the Finance Ministry also showed no signs of improvement with most companies expecting the situation to deteriorate.

Conventional economic remedies have failed to make much of an impact, largely because of the structural problems of the banking sector, which is struggling under the weight of trillions of yen in bad loans. This has created a credit crunch, forcing record numbers into bankruptcy.

Mr Brown will fly out on Tuesday for talks with finance minister Ichiro Miyazawa and Mr Hayami. The Treasury said. The visit will be the first in a series of meetings to discuss the turbulence in the world economy ahead of a full meeting of the G7 in Washington this month.

The United States expressed its concern to the Japanese authorities at a meeting in San Francisco last week, and anxiety about the health of banking systems affected by financial crises was voiced again yesterday by America's Deputy Treasury Secretary, Larry Summers.



Bank of Japan Governor Masaru Hayami announcing the interest rate cut yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: TOSHIYUKI AIZAWA

## Electricity bills 'to fall by 10 per cent'

David Gow  
Industrial Editor

**B**ITAIN'S 24 million households can look forward to cuts of 10 per cent in electricity bills when competition in the power supply industry begins on Monday, the Electricity Association claimed yesterday.

But consumer groups and the industry regulator, Ofwat, said they hoped for even bigger reductions to the average annual bill of £233.50 (excluding Northern Ireland) once all consumers are free to choose their supplier at the end of

June next year and national companies emerge.

Ofwat has allowed the 14 regional electricity companies to pass on to consumers a net £726 million cost of setting up the system for a national free market. Spread over a five-year period, this was estimated to be equivalent to 35.38 pence per kWh.

The first 750,000 consumers in four areas — served by Eastern, Manweb, Scottish Power and Yorkshire Electricity — will be free to choose their supplier from

Monday, with Eastern already claiming to have signed up 200,000 potential new clients from outside its traditional area of East Anglia and north London.

However, Ofwat expects that only 5 per cent of consumers will have switched supplier by the end of the year when all 14 regional electricity companies to England, Scotland and Wales will have begun to liberalise their markets. Yvonne Constance, chairman of the electricity consumer committees, said early signs were that 10 per cent would switch.

This compares with the 15 per cent, or 3 million of

British Gas's 19 million domestic consumers, who switched to the first year of full gas competition. They have benefited from discounts of up to 20 per cent on their bills as a host of new suppliers entered the market.

Mr Roberts, chief executive of Hyder Utilities, said price cuts would vary from supplier to supplier but they should be between 8-10 per cent and came on top of the 23 per cent real-term reduction in domestic bills since 1990. Centrica, trading as British Gas, is offering a 13 per cent cut if consumers buy both their gas and electricity from them.

Both Offer and the companies insist that electricity liberalisation has not been dented by the high-pressure door-step selling techniques seen when the gas market was first opened to competition, however, with salesmen warning people they would lose their discount unless they switched supplier at once.

A consumer hotline has been set up on 0800 451451. Ruth Evans, director of the National Consumer Council, said it had anecdotal evidence of such techniques still being applied, however, with salesmen warning people they would lose their discount unless they switched supplier at once.

## Beckett bugs civil servants' millennium party plans

David Hencke  
Westminster Correspondent

**W**HILE Peter Mandelson will be whipping it up at the Millennium Dome until the small hours of January 1, 2000, his predecessor at the Department of Trade and Industry will be missing all the fun.

Cabinet minister Margaret Beckett yesterday warned civil servants that many of them will miss the celebrations, too.

She is expecting senior staff to stay at their desks checking whether any of the Government's computers are down on the night. The NHS will also miss the celebrations to check that systems do not crash.

Mrs Beckett, who has taken over responsibility for co-ordinating the Government's action on the Millennium Bug, issued the warning after receiving the latest quarterly return on government progress in tackling the problem.

She said yesterday: "I think a lot of staff in government departments and firms are going to have to miss partying that night, because no one can be certain, even if the system has been tested, that unforeseen problems will not arise."

"What does worry me is that my civil servants tell me there has never been an IT project delivered on time or on budget."

The best progress is being made by the Bank of England — which is due to remedy faults by December this year. Areas of concern include the police, fire services, the government and the NHS.

## Bank scraps the wait for cheques to be cleared

Customers will be able to withdraw £1,000 at once, writes Rupert Jones

**B**ARCLAYS yesterday upped the stakes in the battle for customer loyalty by announcing it was scrapping one of banking's most hated traditions — the wait for a cheque to clear.

Ten million current account customers will now get instant access to their money when they pay in a cheque.

The move — likely to be copied by other leading banks — means people will no longer have to wait five working days after paying in a cheque to get at their cash.

The time it takes cheques to clear has been a prime gripe of bank customers, who resent the delay when fewer than 1 per cent of cheques bounce. It typically takes four or five working days for a cheque to pass fully through the system.

From October 1, the vast majority of Barclays personal customers will be able to draw up to £1,000 against an

uncleared cheque on the day they pay it in. The service will be free and will apply to cheques from any bank, paid in to any Barclays branch.

The bank claimed the initiative "heralds a new era in personal banking". But, while one industry source said other banks will quickly follow suit, rivals were quick to scoff, pointing out that the average personal customer pays in only one cheque a month.

More than 95 per cent of customers will be able to take advantage of the facility but around 280,000 "who do not operate their accounts satisfactorily" — typically people who give them more access and control over their day-to-day banking. Bn with this freedom comes extra responsibility. Cheques will still

have to go through the clearing system and, if you pay a cheque in and it bounces after you have withdrawn the money and spent it, you will have to repay the funds to the bank.

Gary Hoffman, UK retail banking chief executive, said the change will cost "a few million pounds" but declined to elaborate further. "This means that for the vast majority of our customers the clearing cycle will no longer be an issue," he added.

While the bank stressed its primary objective was improving the service to customers, Mr Hoffman said it was also responding to the challenge posed by the new breed of telephone banks launched by supermarkets and insurers, who have been grabbing large volumes of business from the traditional players.

"This is our competitive response to what is going on in the marketplace. Some of the new kids on the block will not be able to respond and don't provide this sort of service."

## Move to revive world pact

Larry Elliott  
Economics Editor

**A**FRESH attempt to secure a global deal to liberalise rules governing investment will begin in Paris next month, the head of the World's leading think tank said yesterday.

Donald Johnston, secretary-general of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, said that the Multilateral Agreement on Investment — dubbed by opponents a charter for multinationals — would not be abandoned.

Three years of protracted and increasingly acrimonious discussions were suspended in April when it became clear that there were irreconcilable differences between the OECD's 29 member governments, representing the world's leading industrial nations. But Mr Johnston said yesterday that the MAI was "very important for the long-term development of developing nations".

After a six-month break, a

new chairman for the talks has been lined up, but the OECD has not set a deadline for their completion.

"It is very difficult to put a completion date on negotiations of this complexity," Mr Johnston said, adding that the MAI had become the "lightning rod for anti-globalisation forces around the world".

The Paris-based OECD believes that creating a "level playing field" for international investment will prevent national governments from discriminating against foreign firms, and by increasing the flow of funds will speed up growth and create jobs.

However opponents of the MAI argue it will allow multinationals to ride roughshod over democratically-elected governments, preventing politicians from refusing access to multi-nationals, giving corporations the right to sue administrations that cost them profits and threatening any attempts to introduce workplace or environmental legislation.

### Notebook

## Barclays seeks rouble comfort



Edited by  
Alex Brummer

**W**HENEVER a company has a problem the inevitable whispering campaign begins. Barclays is the latest to fall victim to the rumour mill after the disclosure last week that its exposure to Russia was £240 million, much more than the City believed.

Martin Taylor, chief executive of Barclays, is thought to be facing some tricky questions from his non-executive directors, who are paid to give him a hard time.

After learning that the exposure to Russia by Barclays Capital (its global bond and money market business) had already cost the bank £250 million in provisions and another £75 million in trading losses, the City now expects the non-executives to start asking more questions about other potential trouble spots for Barclays Capital.

Some in the City believe there are questions to be asked of Mr Taylor and his executives. There is a belief among some experts that Barclays is going to have to take the painful decision to devote more capital to Barclays Capital perhaps as much as £2 billion — after its unfortunate Russian foray.

The capital figures are important because Barclays uses "economic capital" to calculate its all important return on capital — the measure Mr Taylor uses to determine the return he is generating for his shareholders.

This economic capital is separate from the capital the regulators require; it is defined by Barclays as a "management tool that estimates risk on the basis of the volatility of earnings around their predicted level".

At the interim, Barclays used just £500 million of economic capital to allow Mr Taylor to claim that Barclays Capital had achieved a 17 per cent return on capital.

That much-coveted return-on-capital figure will take a dive if more capital is used as the basis for the calculation and the profits generated by the business dive.

What the City will be watching for next February, when the bank produces its full-year figures, is whether shareholders are able to tolerate another poor return from the rumour of the investment banking business after BZW's demise.

To be fair to Barclays Capital, it will not be alone in having to admit poorer-than-expected profits as a result of the debacle in Russia. Barclays also insists it is comfortable with the £250 million of economic capital used as the basis for its key calculation.

The bank even hints that the figure could be lower because Barclays Capital, bitten by the volatility in the mar-

ket, is dramatically reducing its exposure to risky assets. That means it will need less capital which, in the world of mathematics, means the return on capital may not be as bleak as it first seems.

Barclays may indeed be right, and it does pride itself on its use of mathematical prowess. That does stop the questions being asked; some in the City are still wondering just how significant the unfortunate timing of the Russian crisis is for Barclays Capital, just when it was putting the BZW disaster behind it.

### Sky limits

**T**HE involvement of Rupert Murdoch and the emotion surrounding Manchester United has obscured the financial issues in BSKYB's move into football ownership. That aside, this is an extremely curious acquisition in City terms.

The official documentation announcing BSKYB's offer warns that the takeover will dilute earnings for this year and next year, up to June 2000. Nothing wrong with that — it is good to see an acquirer taking a long-term view.

But in the long term, the broadcaster also sells the deal with a prediction that the famous football club will not add to its profits one jot. In the parlance, it will be "earnings neutral".

This is a curious basis on which to mount a controversial takeover. It is even more curious, therefore, that BSKYB has made no attempt to explain or justify this extravagance.

All it has said is that Manchester United is a valuable asset. That is undisputed, but it behoves a bidder to explain what it plans to do with the asset and why it might benefit its own shareholders. BSKYB shareholders have a duty to press for an explanation.

### Hollick pause

**D**ESPITE the gloss surrounding the six-month figures, Lord Hollick's media empire shows some signs of losing its fizz. There are certainly difficult times, particularly for the business services companies with its Far Eastern interests, which have held up extremely well. Similarly, broadcasting appears to be holding its own — with a 10.8 per cent rise in trading profits — despite Channel 5 — although the upsurge in baseball fever could better that.

However, being a newspaper proprietor is not always as easy as Rupert Murdoch makes it look. Until July at least the Express ABC circulation figures were still flat (a 0.5 per cent increase for the daily and even more for the Sunday). Although August may show an improvement that is not yet a claim for what the company calls "fruits of investment".

The overall profit increase of a measly 2.2 per cent did not seem to please the stock market either, particularly as the company appeared to be softening up investors for a rougher second half.

### News in brief

#### Credit Suisse shares plunge

Shares in Credit Suisse fell 13 per cent yesterday after the Swiss bank revealed it had exposure of \$2.16 billion to crisis-ridden Russia, writes *Jill Treanor*.

It also admitted its exposure to Brazil was \$1.74 billion (£1 billion) as of the end of September 4. Last month Credit Suisse admitted that its investment banking arm, Credit Suisse First Boston, had lost \$254 million in July and August in emerging markets.

The bank said yesterday that its first-half profits had risen 36 per cent but analysts fear profits will be hit in the second half of the year.

#### Airbus package deal

Airbus Industrie announced at the Farnborough air show yesterday its first order from package delivery company

UPS, for 30 aircraft with options for another 30, at a price of up to \$3 billion. That brings Airbus orders this week to \$2.7 billion, against Boeing's \$2.4 billion. — *Bloomberg*

#### Milan ultimatum

The European Union's transport commissioner, Neil Kinnock, threatened to outlaw a controversial Italian plan to transfer Milan flights by British Airways and other non-Italian carriers to Malpensa airport, which is 33 miles from the city. Mr Kinnock gave Italy one week to negotiate a gradual shift to Malpensa, given that road and rail links with the newly expanded airport have yet to be completed.

At their weekly meeting, other EU commissioners backed Mr Kinnock's view that Italy was discriminating in favour of Alitalia by allowing only the Italian carrier to remain at Linate, just outside Milan.

#### TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 2.75	Germany 2.7922	Malaysia 6.31	Singapore 2.81
Austria 0.9198	Greece 477.15	Mexico 0.6198	South Africa 10.15
Belgium 57.61	Hong Kong 12.48	Netherlands 3.4022	Spain 235.99
Canada 2.440	India 70.54	New Zealand 3.17	Sweden 12.94
Cyprus 0.82	Ireland 1.080	Norway 12.49	Switzerland 2.289
Denmark 10.69	Israel 8.36	Portugal 282.49	Turkey 441.400
Finland 8.79	Italy 2.799	Saudi Arabia 6.11	USA 1.6116
France 5.3363			

Supplied by Reuters (excluding rupee, shilling and malawi)















Boomerang back with a bang, page 13

Villa take on sexy football, page 14

Leicestershire drain Wells, page 15

Surrey receive a pick-me-up, page 15

## SportsGuardian

Murdoch deal set to alter the face of football

## Selling out United's field of dreams



David Lacey

FOR football followers the name Murdoch is heavy with tragedy. To historians it is synonymous with sell-outs. By accepting Rupert Murdoch's offer for Manchester United the Old Trafford board have effectively marked the 40th anniversary of the first in the spirit of the second.

As sales go it certainly makes financial sense. If the deal goes through Murdoch will have paid more than three times for United than he did for the Los Angeles Dodgers. Shareholders big and small will make considerable gains. This, however, is not B Tel or Tel Sid. At \$223.4 million the price for United is high, but there are aspects of football clubs which are beyond mere market value.

Murdoch is set to acquire a nondescript piece of real estate next to Salford Docks distinguished only by the steel and concrete bowl that is Old Trafford. For his money he will get a squad of talented footballers, a uniquely successful manager in Anglo-Scottish terms, the highly-profitable United Megastore, the club's new televisio-

channel and seats in both camps when televised football goes digital and the next TV contract is negotiated.

What he will not get, however, is what football, even now, should be about — namely an idea, a dream if you like, rather than a commodity. United supporters are upset that their feelings have not been considered but the more worrying aspect of this business is that those involved do not appear to have the remotest notion of what it feels like to be a fan.

Last night's visit of Charlton to Old Trafford provided an apt reminder of what real football support still means, even in the age of the fast mega-buck. That Charlton are in the Premier League with a home of their own once more is due in no small measure to

the political ingenuity and financial acumen which accompanied the fan-motivated move back to The Valley. This was about love, not money.

United's followers are concerned that under Murdoch they will become turnstile fodder, mere appendages to

United fans are concerned they will become mere appendages to the BSkyB ratings

the BSkyB ratings; that the club's interests will be subordinated to the wider priorities of the Murdoch media empire. At the moment this is mere speculation but the Dodgers' experience once Murdoch had taken over suggests emotion will not stand

in the way of a player being sold if the accountants say so. What would happen, for example, should a foreign club bid £30 million for Ryan Giggs? At the moment Alex Ferguson would say nothing doing and that would be that. Put a Murdoch executive in

the way of a player being sold if the accountants say so. What would happen, for example, should a foreign club bid £30 million for Ryan Giggs? At the moment Alex Ferguson would say nothing doing and that would be that. Put a Murdoch executive in

the boardroom and the final decision would be made in the United States, China or wherever the great man, or his offspring, happened to be. By submitting MUFC (Manchester United Football Club) to MUFC (Murdoch's Unlimited Financial Clout) the

entire board stand to alter the face of the professional game in this country. According to Michael Crick, lifelong supporter, co-author of a book which nine years ago offered an insight into the Edwards family's running of the club and an articulate opponent of the Murdoch deal, Martin Edwards has taken out of United rather more than he has put in. But at least Martin has always been there, at times even leaping to his feet to cheer a goal.

What alarms United fans as much as anything is the faceless nature of this proposed takeover. Murdoch wants to buy Manchester United because they are the wealthiest, best-supported club and as such will represent a significant chip in the ever-widening television market. His

weekend would not be ruined, however, if United lost a match although his Monday morning might be darkened if their share value slipped.

BSkyB's presence as a Premier League delegate would be bound to overshadow any future TV negotiations. The game already has an idea of where these may be heading.

In May Sky proposed that this season four Premier League matches should be switched from Saturday to Sunday and shown on pay-per-view with the whole programme following suit from 1999-2000 should the experiment prove successful. The clubs, guarding their own pay-TV interests, rejected the suggestion but what happens next time the idea comes up?

The argument that the Murdoch vote would be just one

among 20 is as naive as saying the United States has only one vote at the United Nations. In each case this ignores the power and influence one vote can wield.

Remember it was Alan Sugar's vote, six years ago, which dropped exclusive live Premier League coverage into Murdoch's lap. Sugar having advised Sky to blow rival terrestrial bids out of the water. It has been reported that Greg Dyke, a former ITV man and now a Manchester United director, was initially against selling the club to BSkyB. So the score is now: Roland Rat 0 Burt Simpson 2.

And the way things are going Rupert Murdoch will not even have to practise taking penalties.

Match report, page 14

Premiership: Chelsea v Arsenal 0

## Arsenal defy pressure as Dixon sees red

David Lacey

ARSENAL were forced to take on Chelsea's multinational array of talent with a memo for the last half-hour at Stamford Bridge last night after Lee Dixon had been sent off for two bookable offences. It was the third time this year that a meeting between these teams had seen a red card, Chelsea's Frank Leboeuf and Arsenal's Patrick Vieira having been dismissed in previous Premiership and Coca-Cola Cup encounters.

The intriguing prospect of the central defenders of France's World Cup-winning team, Leboeuf and Marcel Desailly, confronting two of their midfield, Vieira and Emmanuel Petit, could not obscure the more pertinent fact that neither Chelsea nor Arsenal had made an auspicious start to the Premiership season.

Chelsea's latest batch of foreign signings clearly needed time to settle in and Arsenal had simply been slow to get going. Both teams were hoping to find better form and fluency and were searching for a finishing touch to match the quality of the personnel.

Footballing quality does not come much higher than Brian Laudrup, who last night joined Pierluigi Casiraghi and Gianfranco Zola in the van of what was virtually a 4-3-3 formation for Chelsea. Laudrup's natural inclination to go wide, moreover, improved the chances of Casiraghi receiving the sort of crosses he needed to threaten David Seaman and the Arsenal defenders.

Arsenal were clearly in for a night of containment and counter-attack, with the outcome of the midfield battle of

muscle and wit between Desailly and Vieira crucial to the course of the game.

There were other factors, naturally. Just before the quarter-hour Zola's willingness to try any shot from any distance found Seaman flung himself across his goal to push away a shot the little Italian had swung precisely towards the top right-hand corner of the net. Nicolas Anelka responded by slipping dangerously past Leboeuf and

Bergkamp's vision and Anelka's pace meant Chelsea had to be on their guard the moment a move broke down

into the Chelsea penalty area but his shot was far too high. As Chelsea's neat passing and intuitive movement began to dominate the match, Arsenal were forced to defend deep, which meant that their lines of communication between midfield and attack became stretched. Yet the vision of Dennis Bergkamp, with Anelka's pace, meant that Chelsea had to be on their guard the moment a move broke down.

The standard of the football was high but a goal for either team seemed less and less likely. Clearly Arsenal, for whom an away point was a happy option, were less concerned about this than their opponents.

But for an excellent covering tackle by Michael Du-

berry, in fact, Arsenal would surely have taken the lead three minutes before half-time. Bergkamp appeared to have split the Chelsea defence through the timing of his run to meet a return pass from Farfouri but, before the Dutchman could shoot, Du-

berry had lunged across to whip the ball from his feet. So near yet so far. From the ensuing corner Vieira headed a fraction wide, then a pass from Adams found Anelka again getting past Leboeuf, this time on the right, before driving a narrow-angle shot wide of the far post. Suddenly Arsenal were looking chipper.

A flurry of Chelsea corners early in the second half quickly restored them to a defensive mode, yet corners alone were not going to disturb Seaman, Adams and Martin Keown. Petit was far more upset by a tackle from Graeme Le Saux which left the Arsenal man needing treatment to his left ear.

Just before the hour Chelsea replaced the round skills of Laudrup with the combination of good technique and heading power of Gustavo Poyet, which was more likely to worry the Arsenal defenders in the air.

In the event the balance of play was more likely to be disturbed by the dismissal of Dixon in the 61st minute. Booked three minutes before half-time after a spat with Le Saux, who was also cautioned, the Arsenal right-back saw another yellow card, followed by the red, after he had brought down the same Chelsea player deep in his own half.

Chelsea (4-3-3): De Gea; Lambourne, Desailly, Leboeuf, Le Saux; D. Mendes, Desailly, Seaman; Laudrup, Casiraghi, Zola.

Arsenal (4-4-2): Seaman; Dixon, Keown, Adams, Winstanley; Farfouri, Vieira, Petit, Overmars; Bergkamp, Anelka.

Referee: S. Lodge (Barnetley).



French reunion... Marcel Desailly of Chelsea, left, challenges Arsenal's Patrick Vieira last night

DEN RADFORD

Mike Selway, page 15

## McGwire gets million-dollar ball back

Martin Kettle sees an unexpected sequel to a record home run

INEVITABLE as it was, Mark McGwire's 62nd home run of the 1998 season triggered an instant orgy of national pride in the United States yesterday, catapulting baseball back to its historic place as the American national game and making "Big Mac" McGwire the most marketable sports icon in the land.

McGwire described his record-breaking home run as "a sweet, sweet run

around the bases". His historic hit against the Chicago Cubs will be long remembered but it was one of his shortest of the season. The classic McGwire homer goes into the upper tiers of the left field stands where it is clinched by one of the kamikaze St Louis Cardinals fans, who hurl themselves into a mêlée in the hope of emerging with the ball.

Number 62, however, was a low "line drive" which

seared in an almost straight line, clearing the outfield fence by inches and disappearing underneath the stands.

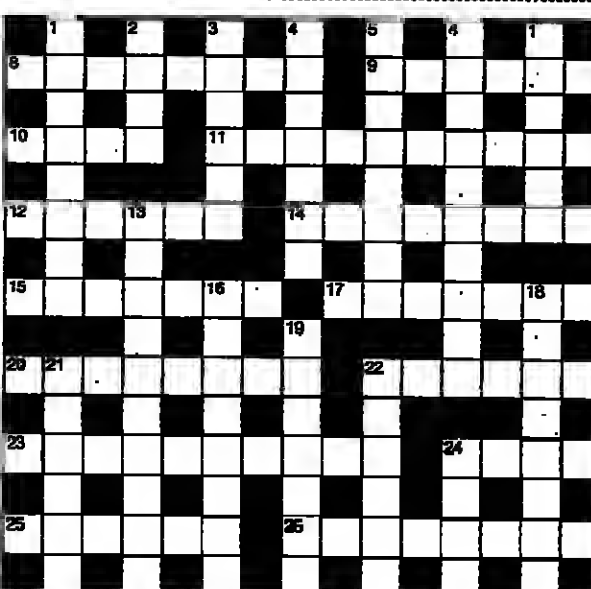
As a result, the great secondary mystery of the record-breaking homer — who would come up with the 62nd ball and what would they do with it — took an unexpected turn. Instead of the ball falling into the hands of a Cardinals fan, as numbers 60 and 61 had done in McGwire's

preceding games at Busch stadium, number 62 was retrieved by a ground-staff member Tim Forneris.

Forneris promptly returned the ball to McGwire, passing up the opportunity to enrich himself by as much as a million dollars by auctioning the ball to one of the many bidders. "Mr McGwire, I think I have something that belongs to you," he announced at a post-game ceremony. Instead of \$1 million Forneris came away with a lifetime pass to the baseball Hall of Fame.

## Guardian Crossword No 21,376

Set by Janus

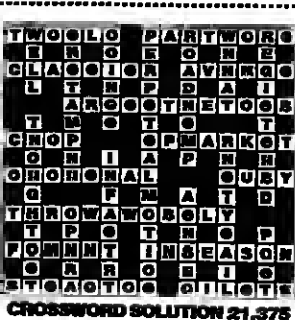


## Across

- 8 Stout outlaw in the beginning (8)
- 9 Ground for debate (6)
- 10 Accomplishment for vocal supporters (4)
- 11 Country boy becoming cartoonist after quarrel (10)
- 12 Proclaim a novice among cattle (6)

## Down

- 13 Nevertheless they are invariable throughout (3,3,4)
- 24 Empty music on board ship? (4)
- 25 Shoe with a distinctive sound (6)
- 26 Former rail employee in foreign trade (5)
- 1 Heaven's tale spread about this place (5)
- 2 Quiet crowd in bed (4)
- 3 Post said to be forbidden (6)
- 4 Drawback at outset for overseas (7)
- 5 The making of a soldier in action? (8)
- 6 Applicants for play set-up (10)
- 7 Gloomy detective catching nothing (6)
- 13 Protective garments get a turn where forward players are concerned (5-5)
- 16 In fact, quietly allowed to become run down (8)
- 18 Monkey obtained from some characters in market (8)
- 21 Plenty to behold in French station (6)
- 22 Mountaineer with a turn of phrase (6)
- 24 Cut in two verbally (4)



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"Prescott insisted that he, rather than the Number 10 policy Unit, would have the final say on transport strategy, but the White Paper ended up as a shadow of the radical package he had promised."

George Monbiot

## Comment, page 8

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